The Journal of Historical Review

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Background & Operations of the Jewish Defense League and Other Criminal Zionist Groups

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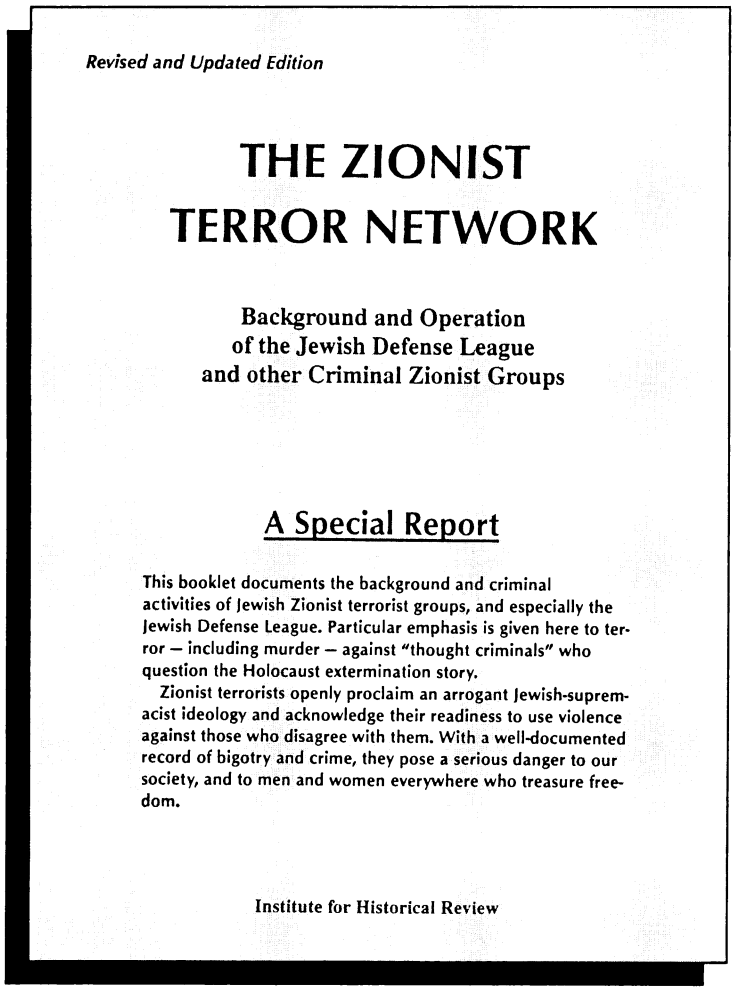
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The Warsaw Ghetto "Uprising":
Jewish Insurrection or German Police Operation?

ROBERT FAURISSON

Each year, around April 19, the media and politicians commemorate what they call the Warsaw ghetto "uprising," "revolt" or "insurrection."[1] In journalistic accounts the affair has taken on increasingly epic and symbolic proportions. At a Holocaust ceremony in New York in April 1993, American Vice President Al Gore declared: "The story of the Warsaw ghetto is sacred text for our time."[2] In fact, this "story" is a legend based only partially on historical reality.

"An insurrection never took place."[3] This remark is by Marek Edelman, who was a leader of one of the armed Jewish groups in the ghetto. He added: "We didn't even choose the day; the Germans set it by entering the ghetto to find the last Jews." Edelman also stated that the number of Jews who took up arms never exceeded 220. (Other estimates of the number of Jewish ghetto fighters range from several hundred to as many as 2,000. In any case, no more than a minute portion of the ghetto population took part in the fighting.)[4]

Edelman's view has been confirmed by Yitzhak Zuckerman, another leader of the main Jewish armed group in the ghetto. Zuckerman has defined the "war aims" of the Jewish fighters in these words: "For us it was a question of organizing a defense, not an uprising. In an uprising, the initiative is with the one rising up. We, we sought only to defend ourselves; the initiative was entirely on the side of the Germans."[5]

This was no uprising of an entire community to gain its freedom or to resist deportation. It was, rather, the reaction of only a relative handful of young Jews who, seeing German troops penetrate their sanctuary, first fought back, then on the third day tried unsuccessfully to flee, and then, finally, surrounded, put up sustained armed resistance.[6]

The whole thing should more accurately be called a German police operation rather than an "uprising" or "insurrection" by the Jews of Warsaw. By contrast, a real uprising was staged in Warsaw, August-October 1944, by the Polish Home Army, commanded by General "Bor" Komorowski. However, the media scarcely notes this heroic insurrection, which the Soviets allowed the Germans to crush at their leisure. The Poles fought with such courage that the Germans permitted them to surrender with full military honors, treating them as prisoners of war under the Geneva convention rather than as terrorist insurgents.

To understand what happened in the Warsaw ghetto in April-May 1943, it is important to know why the Germans decided to launch a police operation. In the city's "Jewish quarter" or "ghetto" were 36,000 officially registered residents, as well as, in all probability, more than 20,000 clandestine inhabitants.[7] The ghetto was, in a sense, a city within a city, administered by a "Jewish Council" (*Judenrat*), and a Jewish police force, which collaborated with the German occupation authorities, even against Jewish "terrorists." Many thousands of Jewish workers toiled in ghetto workshops and factories, supplying products vital to the German war effort.

Following the first Soviet air attack against central Warsaw on August 21, 1942, bomb shelters were built, on German orders, everywhere in the city, including the ghetto, for the protection of the residents. The Germans furnished the Jews with the cement and other necessary materials for these shelters, which legend has transformed into "blockhouses" and "bunkers."[8] So extensive was this "network of subterranean refuges and hiding places" that, according to one prominent Holocaust historian, "in the end, every Jew in the ghetto had his own spot in one of the shelters set up in the central part of the ghetto."[9]

Small armed Jewish groups, numbering no more than 220 persons, were active. The most important of these was the "Jewish Combat Organization" (JCO), whose members were mostly young men in their twenties. Its "general directives for combat" specified "acts of terror" against the Jewish police, the Jewish Council, and the *Werkschutz* (protection service for the factories and workshops). This JCO directive stated specifically: "The general staff works out the central plan of action — sabo-

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Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar, is a frequent *Journal* contributor. He wishes to express his gratitude to Theodore J. O'Keefe for translating the original text, and to Mark Weber for providing much additional information that has been incorporated into this revised text.

SS General Jürgen Stroop (center) commanding the 1943 German police action against the Warsaw ghetto.

tage and terror — directed against the enemy."[10]

Accordingly, these "fighters" or terrorists" used "sabotage and terror" to shake down Jewish ghetto police, Jewish Council officials, and workshop guards.[11] The "terrorists" also profited from the ghetto's intensive industrial and commercial life, shaking down merchants and other residents by threat and blackmail, even holding them prisoner in their homes for ransom. They were able to buy weapons from soldiers stationed in Warsaw, who, like troops stationed elsewhere well behind the front lines, often served in patchwork units, ill-trained and poorly motivated. The ghetto "terrorists" even carried out murderous attacks against German troops and Jewish collaborators.

The ghetto became increasingly insecure. Because of this, the Polish population became more and more hostile to its existence, while the Germans, for their part, feared that it could become a threat to the city's important role as a rail nexus in the war economy and as a hub for transport of troops to the Eastern front. Himmler therefore decided to relocate the Jewish population, along with the workshops and factories, to the Lublin region, and to raze the ghetto, replacing it with a park. At first the Germans tried to convince the Jews to voluntarily accept relocation. But the "terrorists" refused to accept this, aware that such a transfer would mean for them losing, simultaneously, their financial base as well as their freedom of movement. They devoted all their efforts to opposing this, until on April 19, 1943, a police operation to forcibly evacuate the remaining Jews was begun on Himmler's order.

At 6:00 a.m. that morning, troops under the command of SS Colonel Ferdinand von Sammern-Frankenegg entered the ghetto, supported by a single tracked vehicle (captured during the invasion of France) and two armored cars. Initially the "terrorists" or guerrillas offered stiff resistance, wounding 16 German SS men, six Ukrainians (so-called "Askaris"), and two Polish policemen. One Polish policeman was killed.[12]

Himmler, eager to minimize casualties, was angered. That same morning, he relieved von Sammern-Frankenegg of command and replaced him with SS General Jürgen Stroop. Stroop, ordered to carry out the operation slowly to minimize casualties, did so in the following manner: each morning, the troops would enter the ghetto, clear buildings of their residents and use smoke candles (not poison gas) to drive out the Jews hiding in the air-raid shelters; the buildings were destroyed as they were evacuated. Each evening the troops sealed the

Jewish police of the Warsaw ghetto pass in review. A governing Jewish Council administered the city's Jewish residential district. "In practice," historian Emmanuel Ringelblum noted, "the ghetto was virtually an autonomous district with its own local city administration, police service, postal system, jail, and even an Office for Weights and Measures."

ghetto so that nobody could escape during the night.

Skirmishes lasted from April 19 to May 16, 1943, so that altogether the operation required 28 days. On the third day, many of the Jewish armed fighters tried to escape, most whom where shot or captured. Contrary to some reports, the German command never called for air support to destroy the ghetto, and the operation involved no aerial bombardment.

The number of Jewish dead is unknown.[13] An often-cited figure of 56,065 is, in fact, the number of Jews who were *apprehended*. The great majority of these were deported, many to the transit camp at Treblinka from where they were taken to Majdanek (Lublin).[14] German deaths in the operation totalled 16. (This included one Polish policeman.)

One should not doubt either the courage of the Jewish resistance in the ghetto or the tragic nature of the whole affair, with the civilian population trapped in the cross-fire between various heterogeneous German units and small groups of Jewish guerrillas scattered throughout the ghetto. Contrary to some grandiose propaganda claims, though, what took place was far from an "apocalyptic" revolt, as one writer has recently called it,[15] particularly when one is mindful of the tens of thousands of deaths, civilian and military, that occurred during those same 28 days, on battlefields around the globe and in the European cities bombarded by British and American air forces.[16]

NOTES

1. In the entry, "Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," in *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: 1990), historian Israel Gutman writes: "The Warsaw ghetto uprising was the first instance in occupied Europe of an uprising by an urban population. Its unique feature was the fact that it was a general rebellion in which armed fighters took part together with masses of Jews hiding out in bunkers and refuges." (Vol. 4, p. 1631).
2. S. Birnbaum, JTA dispatch, *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California* (San Francisco), April 23, 1993, p. 9.
3. *Libération* (Paris), April 18, 1988, p. 27.; In an interview published in the Austrian news magazine *Profil*, April 19, 1993, p. 86, Edelman likewise referred to "our 200 fighters."

4. Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer contends that altogether there were 750 Jewish ghetto fighters, organized in two combat organizations. See: Y. Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York: 1982), p. 262.

   According to Jewish Holocaust specialist Israel Gutman, "the total Jewish fighting forces in the ghetto numbered 700 to 750." See: *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York, 1990), Vol. 4, p. 1628.

   Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg likewise puts the "total armed strength" of the Jewish ghetto fighters at "about 750." See: R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Holmes & Meier, 1985), p. 512.

   Richard Lukas, a specialist of Polish history, cites estimates of between 1,000 and 2,000 Jewish ghetto fighters, noting that the combatants were thus only about three to five percent of the ghetto's population. See: Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles Under German Occupation, 1939-1944* (Lexington, Ky.: 1986), pp. 172, 178, 267 (n. 106).

   Jewish historian Ber Mark contends that there were perhaps a thousand "organized" Jewish fighters, with many others helping in the struggle. See: Ber Mark, *Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Schocken, 1975) p. 15, and, Ber Mark, "The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," in: Yuri Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back* (1967), p. 93.

5. N. Weill, "L'Insurrection du ghetto de Varsovie," *Le Monde* (Paris), April 18-19, 1993, p. 2.; Zuckerman (1915-1981), whose name is sometimes spelled "Cukierman," was also known by his *nom de guerre*, "Antek." His memoir was published in 1993 under the title *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Univ. of Calif. Press).

6. Forty survivors of the original group of 200 fighters, including Marek Edelman, succeeded in escaping from the ghetto, May 8-10, 1943. See: M. Edelman interview in *Profil* (Vienna), April 19, 1993, p. 86.

7. Even though it had a wall around it, the Warsaw ghetto was largely "open." In this sense, it deserved to be designated as a "residential district" or "quarter" rather than a "ghetto."

8. See: Leon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate* (New York: 1979), p. 230.

9. Israel Gutman, "Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: 1990), p. 1628.

10. Cited by Adam Rutkowski in an article reprinted in a special issue of the French periodical, *Le Monde Juif*, April-August 1993, p. 162.; The "Jewish Combat Organization" (JCO) or "Jewish Fighting Organization," was known in Polish as the "Zydowska Organizacja Bojowa" (ZOB).;

    Details about the methods employed by the JCO are provided by Yisrael Gutman in his book, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt* (1982), pp. 344-349.

    These methods scarcely differed from those of the Mafia. The Germans knew that they faced strong opposition. They sought to convince the Jews to allow themselves to be transferred to the Lublin region, along with the factories and workshops that served the German war effort. In March 1943 a strange "poster war" took place between the Jewish Combat Organization (JCO) and Walter C. Többens, who was responsible for evacuating the Jews. The JCO's notices called on the Jewish residents to refuse transfer to what it called the death camps. The Germans left these handbills in place, content to put up alongside them notices signed "Walter C. Többens," in which the claims of the JCO were refuted point by point.

    Gutman acknowledges: "Többens told the truth about these transports; they weren't to death camps, and it is a fact that there were buildings for *integrating* the factories [in the Lublin region]. But at the time the resistance and the suspicions of the Jews were so strong that even the most ingenious tactics weren't able to overcome them." (pp. 334-335) It was only after determining that methods of persuasion had been stymied that the Germans decided on their police operation.

11. On these points, as well as many others, see, notably:

    The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt, by Yisrael Gutman, translated from the Hebrew by Ina Friedman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982, 487+xxii pages), and, *Il y a 50 ans: le soulèvement du ghetto de Varsovie* ("Fifty Years Ago: The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising"), special edition of *Le Monde Juif*, April-August 1993, 336 pages.

    The latter work includes a reprint of an article by Adam Rutkowski, published in 1969 under the title "Quelques documents sur la révolte du ghetto de Varsovie" ("Some Documents on the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt"), pp. 160-169. On page 162 appear the "general directives for combat of the Jewish Combat Organization."

12. The "Stroop Report," dated May 16, 1943, is entitled "Es gibt keinen jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau mehr!" ("The Jewish Residential District in Warsaw Is No More!"). Text published as Nuremberg document PS-1061 (USA-275) in: International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* ("blue series"), Vol. 26, pp. 628-694, followed by a selection of 18 photographs (of 52). A purported facsimile edition of the German original of this report, including Stroop's telex reports, along with an English-language translation, has been published in the US as: *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter in Warsaw Is No More!* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), Translated from the German and annotated by Sybil Milton, Introduction by Andrzej Wirth.

13. In his telex report of May 24, 1943, General Stroop stated: "Of the total 56,065 Jews apprehended, about 7,000 were annihilated directly in the course of the large-scale operation in the former Jewish quarter. 6,929 Jews were destroyed through transport to T II [an apparent reference to the Treblinka II camp], making a total of 13,929 annihilated Jews. In addition to this figure of 56,065, an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 Jews were annihilated in explosions or fires." See: *The Stroop Report* (New York: 1979), [pages not numbered].

    In the entry, "Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," in *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (p. 1630), Israel Gutman writes: "On May 16 Stroop announced that the fighting was over and that 'we succeeded in capturing altogether 56,065 Jews, that is, definitely destroying them'." The words ascribed here to Stroop are not accurate. What he actually wrote in his report of May 16 is this: "The total number of Jews apprehended or confirmed destroyed is 56,065."

14. "After the people had been taken out of the Ghetto — they numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 — they were brought to the railway station. The Security Police [*Sicherheitspolizei*] had complete supervision of these people and were in charge of the transport of these people to Lublin." From an affidavit of Jürgen Stroop, which was quoted as document 3841-PS (USA-804) by American prosecutor Col. Amen at the Nuremberg Tribunal on April 12, 1946. Text published in: International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* ("blue series"), Vol. 11, pp. 354-355.

15. "The terrible, exemplary, and apocalyptic revolt of the inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto is at once an act of despair and of heroism." See: D. Desthomas, *La Montagne*, April 17, 1993, p. 12.

16. Exaggerations about "the Warsaw ghetto uprising" appear regularly in the media around the world. A comparison of exaggerations and inventions in the Brazilian press on this subject with the facts recently appeared in a revisionist periodical in Brazil. See: S.E. Castan, "Documento: A Verdadeira História do Levante do Gueto de Varsóvia," *Boletim-EP (Esclarcimento ao Pais)*, June 1993, pp. 7-14. Address: *Boletim-EP*, Caixa Postal 11.011, Ag. Menino Deus, 90880-970 Porto Alegre, RS, Brazil.

The "Warsaw Ghetto Boy"

MARK WEBER

It is probably the single most widely recognized and memorable Holocaust image of all: a frightened and apparently doomed young boy, his arms upraised, standing with other Warsaw ghetto Jews under the watch of an armed German soldier.

In a recent essay, Erwin Knoll, editor of the influential monthly *The Progressive*, aptly sums up the popular view of this photo:[1]

> It is the photograph that has come to symbolize the Holocaust: a small Jewish boy, frightened eyes downcast, hands raised above his shoulders, surrounded by Nazi troops. This is the final roundup of Jews scheduled for execution during the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of 1943. More Jews, hands raised, can be seen in the background. We know as we stare at the photo that soon they will all be dead.
>
> The photo appears in archives and exhibitions, in magazine and newspaper articles about the Holocaust, in television documentaries and history books. By now I must have seen it hundreds of times ...

This photograph is one of several dozen included in the official SS report on the April-May 1943 German police *Aktion* against the Warsaw ghetto.[2] In the decades since the end of the war, it

This photograph, perhaps the most familiar Holocaust image, shows seven-year-old Tsvi Nussbaum as he raises his hands in Warsaw in 1943. After the war, Nussbaum moved to Israel, and then to the United States, where he worked as a physician in New York City.

has been reproduced millions of times in countless books, magazines and films, serving as a kind of "all purpose" Holocaust illustration. Enlargements of it have appeared at Holocaust exhibitions and displays in countries around the world.

Millions of people have been led to believe that the bewildered boy in this poignant photo was murdered shortly after this memorable image was preserved on film. "The photograph wrenches the heart," *The Washington Post* has commented, "because it appears that the boy, like millions of Jews and others, is to die at the hands of the Nazis."[3]

In a 1979 advertisement for a set of sensationalized Holocaust story books published in a leading American weekly paper, this photo appears with a caption reading:[4]

> His name was Arthur Chmiotak. He would be 42 this May, but he was gassed to death in a Nazi concentration camp before he was even ten years old. Why? Because he was an "undesirable," a weed in Hitler's garden of perfect Aryan flowers. Just one of more than six million that had to be eliminated . . .

In Germany, a widely used school textbook describes this photo to young readers with these words: "Warsaw, May 1943: Destruction of the Jewish ghetto and deportation of its residents to gassing in the Treblinka camp."[5]

Contrary to legend, though, the "ghetto boy" was not killed. He survived wartime internment in Warsaw and in a German concentration camp.

Several decades after it was taken, a New York physician, Tsvi C. Nussbaum, revealed that he was the lad in the famous photograph. "I remember there was a soldier in front of me, and he ordered me to raise my hands," Nussbaum later recalled. After his uncle intervened, the seven-year-old boy was allowed to join the rest of his family. Along with relatives, young Nussbaum was deported from Warsaw in 1943 to the Bergen-Belsen camp in western Germany. After liberation at war's end, he moved to Israel, from where he migrated to the United States in 1953. In 1990 he was living in Rockland County, New York.[6]

Nussbaum's story has held up under critical examination, and even decades later he still bore a striking resemblance to the boy in the photo.

Tsvi Nussbaum in 1982

Jewish Holocaust historians "who have long considered the photograph a sort of sacred document" were not pleased by Nussbaum's revelation, reported *The New York Times*, because they were "convinced that the symbolic power of the picture would be diminished were the boy shown to have

survived." Nussbaum himself was surprised by such concerns. "I never realized that everyone puts the entire weight of six million Jews on this photograph," he said. "To me it looked like an incident in which I was involved, and that was it."[7]

Dr. Lucjan Dobroszycki of the Yivo Institute, a Jewish history center in New York, warned that "this great photograph of the most dramatic event of the Holocaust requires a greater level of responsibility from historians than any other. It is too holy to let people do with it what they want."[8] In other words, Dobroszycki suggested, historical truth must not be permitted to diminish the picture's emotional impact and usefulness.

Widely regarded as one of this century's most emotionally powerful images, this photograph is indeed telling evidence of the tragic fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War, but in a way quite different than many people believe.

NOTES

1. Erwin Knoll, "The Uses of the Holocaust," *The Progressive*, July 1993, p. 15.
2. The caption to this photo in the "Stroop Report reads: "Pulled from bunkers by force." The 1943 "Stroop report" was submitted as a prosecution exhibit at the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-1946, and was published in volume 26 of the official 42-volume IMT "blue series" record. Nuremberg document 1061-PS (USA-275). A facsimile edition of this report, with English-language translation and commentary, has been published under the title *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter in Warsaw Is No More!* (New York: Pantheon, 1979).
3. C. Harris, "Warsaw Ghetto Boy: Symbol of the Holocaust," *The Washington Post*, Sept. 17, 1978, p. L 1.
4. Advertisement by the Pleasant Valley Press of Pittsburgh for a 13-volume set of books by Christian Bernada. *National Enquirer*, April 3, 1979.; A 1993 Associated Press caption describes this photograph: "A group of Jews, including a boy identified as Arthur Schmiontak, is escorted from the Warsaw ghetto by German soldiers in 1943." See: *Orange County Register*, April 18, 1993, p. 23, and, *Savananah News-Press*, April 18, 1993.
5. Quoted in: *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), April 16, 1993, p. 11.
6. D. Margolick, "Rockland Physician Thinks He is Boy in Holocaust Photo on Street in Warsaw," *The New York Times*, May 28, 1982, pp. B1, B2.; P. Moses, "Haunting Reminder," *New York Post*, Feb. 20, 1990, p. 5.;
   In 1978 a London businessman named Israel (Issy) Rondel claimed to be the "Warsaw ghetto boy." See: J. Finkelstone, "'Ghetto boy' lives here," *Jewish Chronicle* (London), August 11, 1978, pp. 1, 2.; C. Harris, "Warsaw Ghetto Boy: Symbol of The Holocaust," *The Washington Post*, Sept. 17, 1978, pp. L1, L9. This claim later proved to be untrue. See: E. Kossoy, "The boy from the ghetto," *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 1, 1978, p. 5.
7. D. Margolick, *The New York Times*, May 28, 1982, pp. B1, B2. (cited above).
8. *The New York Times*, May 28, 1982, pp. B1, B2.

Anyone who has the power to make you believe absurdities has the power to make you commit injustices.

— Voltaire

A Ghetto Fighter Recalls Her Capture

Young women fighters rounded up during the 1943 German action against the Warsaw ghetto are shown in this widely-reproduced photograph.

Like the famous "ghetto boy" photo, this was included in the 1943 "Stroop report." The original caption read: "Women of the He-halutz movement, captured with weapons." ("He-halutz" or "Hechalutz" ["pioneer"] was an important Zionist youth organization.)

The young woman at the right is Malka Zdorjewicz. Years later, she recalled the circumstance behind the taking of this photograph:

> We went to a neutral place in the ghetto area and climbed down into the underground sewers. Through them, we girls used to carry arms into the ghetto; we hid them in our boots. During the ghetto uprising, we hurled Molotov cocktails at the Germans.
>
> After the suppression of the uprising, we went into hiding, taking refuge in an underground shelter where a large quantity of arms was piled up. But the Germans detected us and forced us out. I happened to be there with Rachela and Bluma Wyszogrodzka (and that is how they took our picture). . .

Rachela and I, together with the others, were driven to the *Umschlagplatz*. They later took us to Majdanek from there.

Surviving internment in the Majdanek camp, Malka moved to Palestine in 1946, where she married (taking her husband's name of Hornstein), and had four children. In Jerusalem in July 1967, she recorded her wartime experiences. (Source: *Yad Vashem Bulletin* [Jerusalem], No. 22, May 1968, pp. 37-39.) — **M. W.**

Inaccurate *Time* Magazine Photo Caption Defames Ukrainians

GHETTO FIGHTERS HOUSE, ISRAEL

Traditions of atrocity: A Jewish girl raped by Ukrainians in Lvov, Poland, in 1945

The photograph shown here, with this factually untrue caption, appeared in *Time* magazine, February 22, 1993. In fact, this photo was taken by German photographers in the Ukrainian city of Lviv (Lvov) shortly after its capture by German forces on June 30, 1941. There is no evidence that the woman shown here was ever raped.

Many Ukrainian-Americans were understandably outraged at *Time* magazine's irresponsible and defamatory use of this graphic photo. A leading Ukrainian-American periodical commented: "The Ukrainian community deserves a genuine apology from *Time* for publishing an irrelevant photograph with a false caption, which violated historical truth and defamed the Ukrainian community." (*Ukrainian Weekly*, May 16.)

In response to numerous letters of complaint, *Time* magazine eventually published a sort of apology (April 19, 1993). "Except for the date," the influential weekly explained, "the information describing the events in the photo was obtained from an employee of a Holocaust museum in Israel."

The *Time* explanation continued:

> Chaos in the form of pogroms, rapes and killings swept the town at that time. The picture is one of a series showing women being stripped, harassed and chased by civilians. One school of thought holds that the women were Jewish victims of the pogroms in Lvov. . . . Other historians insist that the majority of the women pictured in the series of photographs were mistresses the Soviets abandoned when they fled Lvov to escape the Germans troops. The defenseless collaborators were then attacked by resentful residents for consorting with the Soviet enemy.

This same photo appears in the 1989 book *WWII: Time-Life Books History of the Second World War* (p. 141) with a caption reading: "A rape victim in the city of Lvov cries out in rage and anguish as an older woman comforts her."

Shortly before the German capture of the city on June 30, 1941, Soviet secret police summarily killed an estimated 2,300 men, women and children. When the Soviets abandoned the city, many enraged citizens vented their anger on those who had helped the hated oppressors. Many of the victims of this popular outrage were Jews, who had tended to support Soviet rule.

This photo, probably taken on July 1, 1941, almost certainly depicts a victim of this vengeful, pogrom-like outburst in which, according to some historians, several thousand Jews were killed.

Commenting on the circumstances of this photo, one Ukrainian-American writer has claimed that "the action was staged by the Nazis for the purpose of shooting a newsreel." (*Edmonton Jewish Life*, March 25, 1993, p. 7.) There is no evidence whatsoever to support this scurrilous contention. — **M.W.**

"A new scientific truth tends to prevail not because its opponents become convinced and announce their conversion, but far more because its opponents gradually die out, and are replaced by those of the upcoming generation, who are already familiar with that truth."

— **Max Planck**, German Physicist, 1858-1947, Nobel Prize laureate, in: *Wissenschaftliche Selbstbiographie: Physikalische Abhandlungen und Vorträge*, Band 3, (Braunschweig: 1958), p. 389.

Subhas Chandra Bose and India's Struggle for Independence

ANDREW MONTGOMERY

When one thinks of the Indian independence movement in the 1930s and early 1940s, two figures most readily come to mind: Mahatma Gandhi, the immensely popular and "saintly" frail pacifist, and his highly respected, Fabian Socialist acolyte, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Less familiar to Westerners is Subhas Chandra Bose, a man of comparable stature who admired Gandhi but despaired at his aims and methods, and who became a bitter rival of Nehru. Bose played a very active and prominent role in India's political life during most of the 1930s. For example, he was twice (1938 and 1939) elected President of the Indian National Congress, the country's most important political force for freedom from the *Raj*, or British rule.

While his memory is still held in high esteem in India, in the West Bose is much less revered, largely because of his wartime collaboration with the Axis powers. Both before and during the Second World War, Bose worked tirelessly to secure German and Japanese support in freeing his beloved homeland of foreign rule. During the final two years of the war, Bose — with considerable Japanese backing — led the forces of the Indian National Army into battle against the British.

Ideology of Fusion

As early as 1930 — in his inaugural speech as mayor of Calcutta — the fervent young Bose first expressed his support for a fusion of socialism and fascism:[1]

> . . . I would say we have here in this policy and program a synthesis of what modern Europe calls Socialism and Fascism. We have here the justice, the equality, the love, which is the basis of Socialism, and combined with that we have the efficiency and the discipline of Fascism as it stands in Europe today.

In years that followed, the brilliant, eclectic Bengali would occasionally modify this radical doctrine, but would never abandon it entirely. For example, in late 1944 — almost a decade and a half later — in a speech to students at Tokyo University, he asserted that India must have a political system "of an authoritarian character. . . . To repeat once again, our philosophy should be a synthesis between National Socialism and Communism."[2]

In the wake of the crushing defeat in 1945 of Hitler and Mussolini, "fascism" has arguably been the most despised of all political ideologies. Postwar western society recognizes no fascist heroics, and even considers "fascist" traits — particularly the authoritarian, charismatic, personal style of leadership, and the positive evaluation of violence and the willingness to use it for political purposes — to be decidedly unpalatable. In India, though, Bose is regarded as a national hero, in spite of his repeated praise (as will be shown) for autocratic leadership and authoritarian government, and admiration for the European fascist regimes with which he allied himself.

Like the leaders he admired in Italy and Germany, Bose was (and still is) popularly known as *Netaji*, or "revered leader." "His name," explains Mihir Bose (no relation), one of Subhas' many biographers, "is given [in India] to parks, roads, buildings, sports stadiums, artificial lakes; his statues stand in place of those of discarded British heroes and his photograph adorns thousands of calendars and millions of *pan* (betel-nut) shops." It is always the same portrait, continues the writer: Bose in his Indian National Army uniform, "exhorting his countrymen forward to one last glorious struggle."[3]

No less a figure than Gandhi paid tribute to Bose's remarkable courage and devotion. Six months after his death in an airplane crash on August 18, 1945, Gandhi declared: "The hypnotism of the Indian National Army has cast its spell upon us. Netaji's name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none. . . . His bravery shines through all his actions. He aimed high and failed. But who has not failed."[4] On another occasion Gandhi eulogized: "Netaji will remain immortal for all

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time to come for his service to India."[5]

Many of Bose's admirers have been inclined to downplay or even ignore the fascist elements in his ideology, and even to pretend they never existed. For example, the text of Bose's inaugural speech as mayor of Calcutta, cited above, was reprinted in a laudatory 1970 "Netaji Birthday Supplement" of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, but with all references to fascism, including his support for a synthesis of fascism and socialism, carefully deleted.[6] Several admiring biographers have found it easier to ignore

Subhas Chandra Bose in Berlin, 1941

the fascist elements in his ideology than to explain them. Their subjective accounts do not even inform the reader that Bose spoke positively about some features of fascism, or else, in an attempt to remove from their hero any possible taint, they qualify his remarks in ways that he himself did not.[7]

"Fascist"?

During his lifetime, Bose was frequently denounced as a fascist or even a Nazi, particularly in the wake of the radical, revolutionary (as opposed to reformist) views he expressed in radio addresses broadcast to India from National Socialist Germany and, later, from quasi-fascist Japan.[8] For example, *The Statesman*, a highly influential Calcutta periodical, charged in November 1941: "Mr. Bose's views are those of the Nazis, and he makes no secret of it,"[9] while the BBC, Britain's worldwide radio voice, frequently accused him of "Fascism" and "Nazism."[10]

Additionally, historians and writers who do not admire Bose readily point up his "fascist" views. A.M. Nair, a historian who has written favorably of Indian revolutionary Rash Behari Bose (who had sought Japan's help during and after the First World War), found nothing to praise about Subhas Chandra Bose. After all, wrote Nair, he was clearly a fascist.[11]

Recognized Leadership

Bose, a patriot of almost fanatical zeal, first joined the Indian national movement in 1921, working under C.R. Das, whom he idolized. He was jailed for six months in 1921-1922 because of his political activities. Immediately upon his release, the 25-year-old Bose organized (and presided over) the All-Bengal Young Men's Conference. As a result of his remarkable leadership abilities and ambition, he advanced quickly through nationalist ranks. He was soon elected General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC). In 1924, at the age of 27, Bose was elected the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, which effectively put him in charge of the second-largest city in the British empire. As a result of his close ties with nationalist terrorists, in late 1924 he was detained by British authorities and held, without trial, for three years in prison. In 1928, the 31-year-old Bose was elected president of the BPCC, and, at the Calcutta meeting of the Congress party held that December, he came to national prominence by pressing (unsuccessfully) for the adoption by his provincial committee of an independence resolution.

By 1930 Bose had formulated the broad strategy that he believed India must follow to throw off the yoke of British imperialism and assume its rightful place as a leader in Asia. During his years in Mandalay prison and another short term of imprisonment in Alipore jail in 1930, he read many works on political theory, including Francesco Nitti's *Bolshevism, Fascism and Democracy* and Ivanoe Bonomi's *From Socialism to Fascism.*[12] It is clear that these works on fascism influenced him, and caused an immediate modification of his long-held socialist views: as noted above, in his inaugural speech as mayor of Calcutta, given a day after his release from Alipore jail, he revealed his support for a seemingly contradictory ideological synthesis of socialism and fascism.

Until his death 15 years later, Bose would continue publicly to praise certain aspects of fascism and express his hope for a synthesis of that ideology and socialism. His detailed comments on the matter in his book *The Indian Struggle: 1920-1934*, which was first published in 1935, accurately represent

the views he held throughout most of his career. As such, the most important of them, along with Bose's own actions, will be analyzed here in some detail.

Program Outlined

Contending that the Indian National Congress was somewhat "out of date," and suffered from a lack of unity and strong leadership, Bose predicted in *The Indian Struggle* that out of a "Left-Wing revolt there will ultimately emerge a new full-fledged party with a clear ideology, program and plan of action."[13] The program and plan of action of this new party would, wrote Bose, follow this basic outline:[14]

1. The party will stand for the interests of the masses, that is, of the peasants, workers, etc., and not for the vested interests, that is, the landlords, capitalists and money-lending classes.

2. It will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people.

3. It will stand for a Federal Government for India as the ultimate goal, but will believe in a strong Central Government with dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet.

4. It will believe in a sound system of state-planning for the reorganization of the agricultural and industrial life of the country.

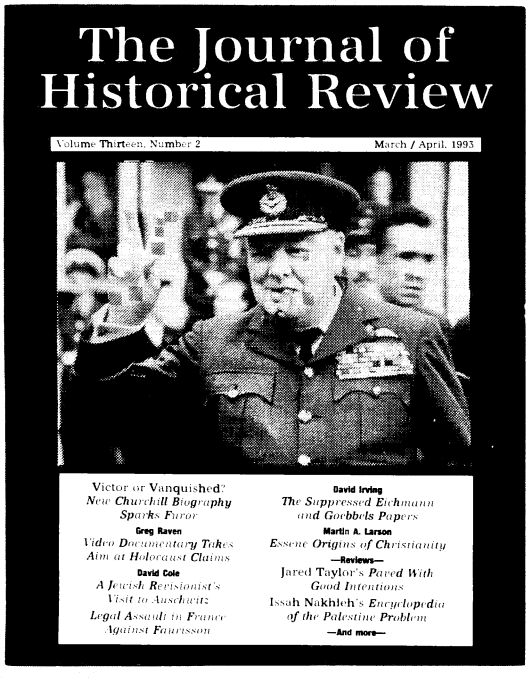
5. It will seek to build up a new social structure on the basis of the village communities of the past, that were ruled by the village "Panch" and will strive to break down the existing social barriers like caste.

6. It will seek to establish a new monetary and credit system in the light of the theories and the experiments that have been and are current in the modern world.

7. It will seek to abolish landlordism and introduce a uniform land-tenure system for the whole of India.

8. It will not stand for a democracy in the Mid-Victorian sense of the term, but will believe in government by a strong party bound together by military discipline, as the only means of holding India together and preventing a chaos, when Indians are free and are thrown entirely on their own resources.

9. It will not restrict itself to a campaign inside India but will resort to international propaganda also, in order to strengthen India's case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for liberty, and will attempt to utilize the existing international organizations.

10. It will endeavor to unite all the radical organizations under a national executive so that whenever any action is taken, there will be simultaneous activity on many fronts.

Synthesis

Bose went on to note that Nehru had said in 1933: "I dislike Fascism intensely and indeed I do not think it is anything more than a crude and brutal effort of the present capitalist order to preserve itself at any cost." There is no middle road between Fascism and Communism, said Nehru, so one "had to choose between the two and I choose the Communist ideal."[15]

To this Bose responded:[16]

> The view expressed here is, according to the writer, fundamentally wrong. . . One is inclined to hold that the next phase in world-history will produce a synthesis between Communism and Fascism. And will it be a surprise if that synthesis in produced in India? . . . In spite of the antithesis between Communism and Fascism, there are certain traits in common. Both Communism and Fascism believe in the supremacy of the State over the individual. Both denounce parliamentary democracy. Both believe in party rule. Both believe in the dictatorship of the party and in the ruthless suppression of all dissenting minorities. Both believe in a planned industrial reorganization of the country. These common traits will form the basis of the new synthesis. That synthesis is called by the writer "Samyavada" — an Indian word, which means literally "the doctrine of synthesis or equality." It will be India's task to work out this synthesis. Before taking a closer look at these remarkable words, four points need to be made. First, Bose's fascist model was almost certainly Mussolini's Italy, not Hitler's Germany. In 1934 Bose made the first of several visits to Fascist Italy and found both the regime and its leader very agreeable. On that occasion he had a cordial (first) meeting with Mussolini — "a man who really counts in the politics of modern Europe."[17] After *The Indian Struggle* appeared in print in 1935, Bose made a special stop in Rome personally to present a copy to the *Duce*.[18]

Gandhi and Bose

Second, the book was completed a full year before the commencement of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), in October 1935. While Bose would, by the time he completed his book, have known about such violent incidents as "The Night of the Long Knives" — the SS killing of dozens of SA men on June 30, 1934 — he had no real reason to consider the European fascist regimes unusually violent, murderous or bellicose. "I should like to point out that when I was writing the book," he later explained,[19]

> Fascism had not started on its imperialistic expedition, and it appeared to me merely an aggressive form of nationalism. . . . What I really meant was that we in India wanted our national freedom, and having won it, we wanted to move in the direction of Socialism. This is what I meant when I referred to a "synthesis between Communism and Fascism." Perhaps the expression I used was not a happy one.

Third, despite Bose's claim to represent the political left, and that a party supporting a fusion of fascism and socialism would be ushered in by a "Left-Wing revolt," the ideology he expounded might more appropriately be regarded as right wing. Bose's ideology was radical and contained socialist elements — such as the desire to abolish the traditional class structure and create a society of equal opportunity, and the claim to represent the peasants and workers. To that extent it can be considered left wing. It is worth noting that Hitler's "right wing" political movement — the National Socialist German Workers' Party — shared many of Bose's "socialist" goals.[20] Nehru, a committed socialist, challenged Bose's characterization of himself and his followers as left wing: "It seems to me that many of the so-called Leftists are more Right than the so-called Rightists. Strong language and a capacity to attack the old Congress leadership is not a test of Leftism in politics."[21]

Lastly, it should be noted that Bose was willing to tone down his more radical political beliefs on those occasions when he considered it advantageous or necessary to do so. For example, in his February 1938 inaugural speech as President of the Indian National Congress, Bose — probably in a sincere attempt to placate the Gandhian faction — made statements that appear to represent almost an about face from the political views he had

expounded in *The Indian Struggle*. In a future independent India, he said,[22]

> the party itself will have a democratic basis, unlike, for instance, the Nazi party which is based on the "leader principle." The existence of more than one party and the democratic basis of the Congress party will prevent the future Indian State becoming a totalitarian one. Further, the democratic basis of the party will ensure that leaders are not thrust upon the people from above, but are elected from below.

It is possible that these statements reflect a temporary change of mind, but it is more likely that they reflect Bose's efforts during this period to gain further political respectability, to prove that he was more than just a radical and revolutionary Bengali. By doing so he apparently hoped to win wider acceptance of the policies he wanted to implement in his year as Congress President: policies which were not especially radical or revolutionary.[23] According to Nirad Chaudhuri, his former personal secretary, Bose tried very hard during this period to seek agreement with the Gandhian faction over the direction the Congress party should move, and even "showed something like tender filial piety towards Gandhi," of whom he had been very critical in *The Indian Struggle*.[24] It is against this political background that Bose's statements to the Congress party meeting in February 1938 should be seen.

A year later he successfully recontested the presidential election, but two months afterwards was forced to resign because of his inability to resolve his differences with Gandhi and the Gandhian faction. Probably believing that his earlier suspicions of democracy had been proven correct, and feeling that there was now no use in trying to win the favor or approval of more conservative elements in the Congress party, Bose once again proclaimed his belief in the efficacy of authoritarian government and a synthesis of fascism and socialism. Many similar examples can be cited to show how Bose outwardly (but probably not inwardly) modified his views to suit changing political contexts.

A Life for India

Throughout his political career, India's liberation from British rule remained Bose's foremost political goal; indeed, it was a lifelong obsession. As he explained in his most important work, *The Indian Struggle*, the political party he envisioned "will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people." Speaking of Bose a few days after his death in August 1945, Jawaharlal Nehru said:[25]

> In the struggle for the cause of India's independence he has given his life and has escaped all those troubles which brave soldiers like him have to face in the end. He was not only brave but had deep love for freedom. He believed, rightly or wrongly, that whatever he did was for the independence of India. . . . Although I personally did not agree with him in many respects, and he left us and formed the Forward Bloc, nobody can doubt his sincerity. He struggled throughout his life for the independence of India, in his own way.

Along with his abiding love for his country, Bose held an equally passionate hatred of the imperial power that ruled it: Great Britain. In a radio address broadcast from Berlin on March 1, 1943, he exclaimed that Britain's demise was near, and predicted that it would be "India's privilege to end that Satanic empire."[26] The fundamental principle of his foreign policy, Bose declared in a May 1945 speech in Bangkok, is that "Britain's enemy is India's friend."[27] Although these two speeches are from his final years, they express views he had held since before his April 1921 resignation from the Indian Civil Service.[28] It was this principle of making friends with Britain's enemies in the hope that they would assist him in liberating India that brought him in 1941 to Germany and then, in 1943, to Japan.

Violence or Non-Violence?

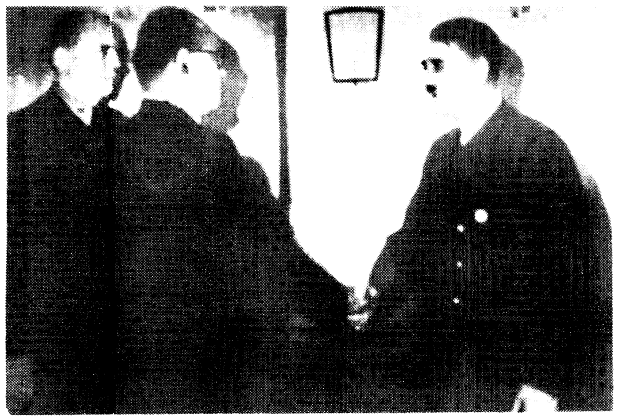
Bose envisaged that "the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people" would inevitably require the use of force. Just before resigning from the Indian Civil Service, he discussed with Dilip Kumar Roy, his closest friend, the subject of anti-British terrorism. "I admit is it regrettable," he said, "even ugly if you will, though it also has a terrible beauty of its own. But maybe that beauty does not unveil her face except for her devotees."[29]

Violence was not new to Bose, even at that early stage of his career. In 1916 he had been expelled from Presidency College in Calcutta for his part in the violent assault on Professor Edward Oaten, who had allegedly insulted Indian students.[30] Moreover, although he occasionally claimed to "detest" violence,[31] and criticized isolated acts of terrorism (which he considered ineffective and counterproductive),[32] he was never really committed to Gandhi's policy of non-violence.[33] He regarded the Gandhi-supported civil disobedience campaign as an effective means of paralyzing the administration, but regarded it as inadequate unless accompanied by a movement aimed at total revolution and prepared, if necessary, to use violence.[34]

Militarism

Related to Bose's willingness to use violence to gain political objective was his belief — expressed in *The Indian Struggle*, for example — that a government by a strong party should be "bound together by

military discipline." Indeed Bose was infatuated with military discipline, and later commented that his basic training in the University Unit of the India Defence Force (for which he volunteered in 1917, while a student at Scottish Church College in Cal-



Bose meets Hitler, May 1942

cutta) "gave me something which I needed or which I lacked. The feeling of strength and of self-confidence grew still further."[35]

Bose was able to give much grander expression to his "militarism" when, in 1930, he volunteered to form a guard of honor during the ceremonial functions at the Calcutta session of the Congress party. Such guards of honor were not uncommon, but the one Bose formed and commanded was unlike anything previously seen. More than 2,000 volunteers were given military training and organized into battalions. About half wore uniforms, with specially designed steel-chain epaulettes for the officers. Bose, in full dress uniform (peaked cap, standing collar, ornamental breast cords, and jodhpurs) even carried a Field Marshal's baton when he reviewed his "troops." Photographs taken at the conference show him looking entirely out of place in a sea of *khadi* (traditional Indian clothing). Gandhi and several other champions of Non-violence (*Ahimsa*) were uncomfortable with this display.[36]

The Indian National Army

A high point in Bose's "military career" came in July 1943 in Singapore. At a mass meeting there on July 4, Rash Behari Bose (no relation) handed over to him the leadership of the Indian Independence League. The next day, Subhas Bose reviewed for the first time the soldiers of the Indian National Army (INA), which then comprised 13,000 men. In his address to the troops, which is a good example of his speaking style, he cited George Washington and Giuseppi Garibaldi as examples of men who led armies that won independence for their respective countries. Bose went on:[37]

> Soldiers of India's army of liberation!. . .
>
> Every Indian must feel proud that this Army — his own Army — has been organized entirely under Indian leadership and that, when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go to battle . . .
>
> Comrades! You have voluntarily accepted a mission that is the noblest that the human mind can conceive of. For the fulfillment of such a mission, no sacrifice is too great, not even the sacrifice of one's life . . .
>
> . . . Today is the proudest day of my life. For an enslaved people, there can be no greater pride, no higher honor, than to be the first soldier in the army of liberation. But this honor carries with it a corresponding responsibility, and I am deeply conscious of it. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. But if you follow me in life and in death, as I am confident you will, I shall lead you to victory and freedom. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free, and that we shall give our all to make her free.
>
> May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight!

This "Free India Army" ("*Azad Hind Fauj*") would not only "emancipate India from the British yoke," he told the soldiers, but would, under his command, become the standing national army of the liberated nation.

Choreography for Impact

As his staging at the 1930 Calcutta session of the Congress party suggests, Bose understood early on the importance of political choreography and the aesthetics of mass meetings. After his visits to Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany, he was even more mindful of the importance for any successful broad-based political movement of mass meetings, marches, visual symbols, and ceremonial or liturgical rituals. For example, at the 51st session of the Congress party at Haripura in 1938, Bose made sure that his entrance as the new Congress President would be spectacular. Escorted by 51 girls in saffron saris (the number corresponding with the number of the Congress session), he was seated in an ancient chariot drawn by 51 white bullocks, and taken on a two hour procession through 51 specially-constructed gates, accompanied by 51 brass bands.[38] Political choreography of this type — although not to this extreme degree — was very evident at all mass rallies (which sometimes attracted crowds numbering as many as 200,000) of the Forward Bloc party that Bose formed in 1939. Carefully chosen symbols, slogans and songs, coupled with a flood of written propaganda, were used in an unsuc-

cessful attempt to make the Forward Bloc into a mass party.[39]

Even during the last years of the war, when he was in southeast Asia heading the Provisional Government of Free India and the INA, he continued to choreograph carefully all of his rallies, meetings and ceremonies, in order to maximize their impact. He also realized that his own role in this choreography was central. Even in the hottest tropical weather, for instance, he wore an imposing military uniform, including forage cap, khaki tunic and jodhpurs, and shiny, knee-length black boots. Moreover, whenever he travelled "he demanded all the rights and privileges of a head of state. On his road travels in Malaya, for example, he insisted on a full ceremonial escort; Japanese military jeeps mounted with sub-machine guns, a fleet of cars, and motorcycle outriders."[40] Historian Mihir Bose argues persuasively that such carefully planned actions were manifestations not of megalomania, but rather of Subhas Bose's effort to create a sense of unity transcending class, caste and origin among the large and diverse populations of Indians in Southeast Asia, to increase their political awareness, to arouse and inspire both them and his INA troops, and to show the world that he regarded himself as a political leader of substance and importance.[41]

This naturally raises the question of Bose's leadership style. In the passage from *The Indian Struggle* quoted above at length, he expressed his belief in what he called "the dictatorship of the party" (the party being the governing body of a free India), but he did not specify the precise nature of the party's leadership, or whether it, too, would be dictatorial. Most importantly, he did not state whether he saw himself as the party leader, or comment directly on what role he intended for himself in a free India. Nonetheless, clues about these details can be gleaned from other sections of *The Indian Struggle* and from the speeches and statements Bose made at various times throughout his career.

Determined Leadership

Bose clearly admired strong, vigorous, military-type leaders, and in *The Indian Struggle* he listed several whom he particularly respected. These included Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and even a former British governor of Bengal, Sir Stanley Jackson.[42] Nowhere in this book is there any criticism of these individuals (three of them dictators) for having too much power, yet another man is chastised for this: Mahatma Gandhi. Bose admired Gandhi for many things, not least his ability to "exploit the mass psychology of the people, just as Lenin did the same thing in Russia, Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany."[43] But he accused Gandhi of accepting too much power and responsibility, of becoming a "Dictator for the whole country" who issued "decrees" to the Congress.[44] According to Bose, Gandhi was a brilliant and gifted man, but, unlike Mussolini, Hitler and the others mentioned, a very ineffectual leader. Gandhi had failed to liberate India because of his frequent indecision and constant willingness to compromise with the Raj (something Bose said he would never do).[45]

It is clear that Bose — who believed from his youth that he was destined for greatness[46] — saw himself as a "strong" leader in the mold of those named above. "I ask those who have any doubts or

Soldiers of the Indian Legion, which served with the German armed forces during the Second World War. Altogether about 3,000 Indians joined the Legion, taking an oath to Hitler and Bose "in the fight for the freedom of India."

suspicions in their minds to rely on me," he told the Indian Independence League Conference in Singapore on July 4, 1943. He continued:[47]

> I shall always be loyal to India alone. I will never deceive my motherland. I will live and die for India. . . . The British could not bring me to submission by inflicting hardships on me. British statesmen could neither induce me nor deceive me. There is no one who can divert me from the right path.

Bose was decisive, aggressive and ambitious, and even as a university student, these features of his personality attracted many devoted followers. Dilip Kumar Roy, his companion during his days as a student at Cambridge, referred to him as "strength-inspiring," and the absolute leader of the Indian student population.[48]

Bose's militarism, ambition and leadership traits do not necessarily indicate (contrary to popular opinion) that he was a leader in the fascist mold. If they did, one would have to consider all personal-

ities with similar traits — Winston Churchill, for example — as "fascist." In this regard, it is worth noting that during his many years as head of various councils, committees and offices, and during 15-month tenure as President of the Indian National Congress (February 1938 to May 1939), Bose never acted in an undemocratic manner, nor did he claim powers or responsibilities to which he was not constitutionally or customarily entitled. Neither did he attempt in any way to foster a cult of his own personality (as, it could be argued, Gandhi did).

However, after he assumed control of the INA in July-August 1943, Bose's leadership style underwent a transformation. First, he allowed a cult of his personality to flourish among the two million or so Indians living in southeast Asia. Prayers were regularly said on his behalf, and his birthday celebrations were — like Gandhi's in India — major festivals.[49] He was invincible, according to one Indian myth from this period, and could not be harmed by bombs or bullets.[50] An image of Bose that stressed his strength of character, military prowess, and willingness to sacrifice for a free India was intentionally promoted in propaganda broadcasts and printed material. With his approval, the title *Netaji* ("Revered Leader") was added to his name in all articles about him appearing in the newspapers of the Indian Independence League; even his staff officers were permitted to address him with this title.[51] By the end of the war, few Indians in south Asia still referred to him by name; he was always respectfully called *Netaji*.[52]

Authoritarian Rule

Second, in contrast to his statement at the 1938 Haripura session of the Congress party (quoted above) — that leaders would be elected from below — Bose proclaimed, on October 21, 1943, the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind ("Free India"). While retaining his post as Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army, he announced that he was naming himself Head of State, Prime Minister, and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs.[53] (The most important of these positions — Head of State — he anticipated retaining in a free India.) These appointments involved no democratic process or voting of any kind. Further, the authority he exercised in these posts was dictatorial and often very harsh. He demanded total obedience and loyalty from the Indians in south Asia, and any who opposed him, his army or government faced imprisonment, torture, or even execution.[54]

Additionally, if wealthy Indians did not contribute sufficient funds to Bose's efforts, they risked confiscation of their property. Bose's threats were taken very seriously, and had the desired effect: funds did pour in.[55] His INA troops were obliged to swear an oath of loyalty to both the Provisional Government and to him personally. He ordered the summary execution of all INA deserters, and also prepared (but was never able to implement) law codes for the entire population of India. These laws, which stipulated the death penalty for a range of offenses, were to come into force when the INA, together with the Japanese Army, entered India to fight against the British[56]

With regard to his leadership style during this 1943-1945 period, in fairness to Bose is should be pointed out that the entire world was then engulfed in a horrendous war, and political and military leaders everywhere, on all sides, adapted extraordinarily authoritarian and repressive measures. Some of the measures and policies adapted by the wartime government of the United States, for instance, were as oppressive and as severe as any planned or implemented by Bose.[57]

A New India

Bose clearly anticipated that the British would be driven out of India in an armed struggle (under his leadership),[58] and that a social and political revolution would begin the moment the Indian people saw British rule under attack in India itself.[59] This revolution, he believed, would bring an end to the old caste system and traditional social hierarchy, which would be replaced by an egalitarian, casteless and classless society based on socialist models. This process would require very careful guidance, with a firm hand, to prevent anarchy and chaos.[60]

Bose had, in fact, held these beliefs since the early 1930s, as Mrs. Kitty Kurti, a close German friend of Bose, revealed in her anecdotal memoir. At a June 1933 meeting attended by Kurti, Bose explained that:[61]

> Besides a plan of action which will lead up to the conquest of power, we shall require a program for the new state when it comes into existence in India. Nothing can be left to chance. The group of men and women who will assume the leadership of the fight with Great Britain will also have to take up the task of controlling, guiding and developing the new state and, through the state, the entire Indian people. If our leaders are not trained for post-war leadership also there is every possibility that after the conquest of power a period of chaos will set in and incidents similar to those for the French Revolution of the 18th century may be repeated in India. . . . The generals of the war-time period in India will have to carry through the whole program of post-war reforms in order to justify to their countrymen the hopes and aspirations that they will have to rouse during the fight. The task of these leaders will not be over till a new generation of men and women are educated and trained after the establishment of the new state and this new generation are able to take complete charge of their country's affairs.

This explains what Bose meant in *The Indian Struggle* when he wrote (as quoted above) of the need for a strong, single-party government, "bound together by military discipline" with "dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet." Only an very strong government, strict discipline, and dictatorial rule would, according to Bose, prevent the anticipated revolution from falling into chaos and anarchy. That is why the government would not — "in the first years after liberation" — "stand for a democracy in the Mid-Victorian sense of the term." It would use whatever military force was necessary to maintain law and order, and would not relinquish authority or re-establish more regular forms of government until it felt confident that "the work of post-war social reconstruction" had been completed and "a new generation of men and women in India, fully trained and equipped for the battle of life" had emerged.[62]

Bose clearly anticipated that authoritarian rule would not last beyond the period when social reconstruction was completed, and law and order were established — when India was "on its feet," as he often wrote. As he frequently stated, Bose aimed for nothing less than the formation of "a new India and a happy India on the basis of the eternal principles of liberty, democracy and socialism."[63] He rejected Communism (at least as it was practiced in the Soviet Union) principally because of its internationalism, and because he believed that the theoretical ideal found in the writings of Marx could not be applied, without modification, to India. Still, he maintained socialist views throughout his adult life, and, on very many occasions, expressed his hope for an egalitarian (especially classless and casteless) industrialized society in which the state would control the basic means of production.[64]

He was opposed to liberalism, believing that greater emphasis should be placed on social goals than on the needs or desires of individuals. Individual wishes, he reasoned, must be subordinated to the needs of the state, especially during the struggle for independence and the period of reconstruction immediately following liberation. Nonetheless, having himself been imprisoned eleven times and sent into exile three times, he was fully committed to upholding the rights of minority intellectual, religious, cultural and racial groups. He hoped for an "all-round freedom for the Indian people — that is, for social, economic and political freedom, and would wage a relentless war against bondage of every kind till the people can become really free."[65]

It could be argued that he was not as committed to the principle of democracy as he was to socialism and freedom (as he defined it). While he extoled democracy on numerous occasions, at other times his words suggest a belief that other parties would have a place, in a free India, only as long as they were "working towards the same end, in whole or in part," as his governing party.[66] Political pluralism did not appeal to him at all. He seems to have envisioned a free India that was more authoritarian than democratic. His own actions as head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind illustrate a lack of regard for the democratic process.

Mass Mobilization

Bose was, nonetheless, a consistent advocate of total mobilization: the mustering of national resources on a scale normally associated with military-like action. Realizing that manpower was easily India's greatest resource (and arguably the only one available to the independence movement), he proclaimed that all Indians — male and female, urban and rural, rich and poor — should actively participate in the fight for freedom. From his earliest days in politics to his death in 1945, he sought to rouse the great Indian masses, and involve them directly in the political struggle. Their support for representatives at the provincial or national levels was not enough; they must themselves rise up and win independence.

During the 1930s, however, his political position was never strong enough to call for other resources than manpower, nor was India — under British control — able to offer other resources. Additionally, total mobilization during peace-time, without an impending war or revolution in the awareness of the masses, had never been achieved (not even by the Nazis) and, arguably, never could be achieved. Bose, an astute man, no doubt realized this. With the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, he was at last in a position to appeal directly for total mobilization to the mass of Indians — at least in Southeast Asia, and, less directly, to those in India itself. Along with his call for mass mobilization, he demanded that all available resources be provided for the cause of freedom. For example, he told a mass meeting in Singapore in July 9, 1943:[67]

> Friends! You will now realize that the time has come for the three million Indians living in East Asia to mobilize all their available resources, including money and man-power. Half-hearted measures will not do. I want Total Mobilization and nothing less, for we have been told repeatedly, even by our enemies, that this is a total war. . . . Out of this total mobilization I expect at least three hundred thousand soldiers and three crores of dollars [$30,000,000]. I want also a unit of brave women to form a death-defying regiment who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded . . .

Of course, Bose demanded not only the total mobilization of Indian resources in south Asia, but of Indian resources everywhere.[68] He called for mass mobilization not only in support of his army, but also for his dynamic new government, the various branches of which required financing and manpower.

Women's Equality

As can be seen from the passage quoted above, Bose called on both men *and* women for total support. Unlike the German National Socialists and the Italian Fascists, who stressed the masculine in almost all spheres of social and political activity, Bose believed that women were the equals of men, and should therefore be likewise prepared to fight and sacrifice for India's liberation. Throughout the 1920s and1930s he had campaigned in India to bring women more fully into the life of the nation.[69] After his return to Asia in 1943, he called on women to serve as soldiers in the Indian National Army — at the time a most radical view. "When I express my confidence that you are today prepared to fight and suffer for the sake of your motherland," he told the women's section of the Independence League in July 1943,[70]

> I do not mean only to cajole you with empty words. I know the capabilities of our womanhood well. I can, therefore, say with certainty that there is no task which our women cannot undertake and no sacrifice and suffering which our women cannot undergo. . . . To those who say that it will not be proper for our women to carry guns, my only request is that they look into the pages of our history. What brave deeds the Rani of Jhansi performed during the First War of Independence in 1857. . . Indians — both common people and members of the British Indian army — who are on the border areas of India, will, on seeing you march with guns on your shoulders, voluntarily come forward to receive the guns from you and carry on the struggle started by you.

A women's regiment was formed in 1943, and came to number about 1,000 women. It was named, appropriately, the "Rani of Jhansi Regiment," after a heroine of the Indian rebellion of 1857-58 against British rule. While those less suited to combat duties were employed as nurses and in other support roles, the majority were trained as soldiers. When the INA attacked British forces from Burma in east India in mid-1944, the women of the Jhansi Regiment fought alongside the men, suffering equally heavy casualties. When the army was forced to withdraw, the women were given no privileges. Along with the men, they marched for more than a thousand kilometers.[71]

Commitment to Youth

Lastly, Bose was also deeply committed to the youth movement, a devotion that featured prominently in his political ideology. Convinced that young people were by nature idealistic, restless and open to new ideas[72] — such his own radical and militant outlook — Bose accordingly devoted a great deal of time and effort to the new Youth Leagues that were formed in a number of provinces during the 1920s. Throughout his career he presided over far more youth conferences than any other all-India political figure, and his speeches to younger people he steadfastly urged a spirit of activism that contrasted sharply with the passivism preached by Gandhi and many of the older politicians. "One of the most hopeful signs of the time," he claimed at the 1928 Maharashtra Provincial Conference,[73]

> is the awakening among the youth of this country. . . . Friends! I would implore you to assist in the awakening of youth and in the organization of the youth movement. Self-conscious youth will not only act, but will also dream; will not only destroy, but will also build. It will succeed where even you may fail; it will create for you a new India — and a free India — out of the failures, trials and experiences of the past.

India's liberation would be achieved not by Gandhi and the leading politicians of his generation, whose conservative, reformist policies bred passivity and inactivity. It would, Bose believed, be achieved only through the efforts and sacrifices of the militant, revolutionary and politically conscious younger generation.

Economic Views

In contrast to the copious record of Bose's political ideology and actions, much less is available about other important elements of his outlook, such as his economic views and policies. For example, while he condemned capitalism and extoled socialism in the pages of *The Indian Struggle*, Bose was very vague about just what monetary or credit systems he foresaw in a free India. They would be set up, he simply wrote, "in the light of the theories and the experiments that have been and are current in the modern world." Throughout his career he never wrote or said anything more specific about such matters. He appears to have had no precise ideas about political economy, save that economics was not important in itself but must be subordinated to national political considerations. Any discussion here of what economic systems he favored, and when and how he intended to implement them, would thus be merely speculative.

Unique Political Ideology

While Bose's political ideology can reasonably be described as essentially "fascistic," two qualifying points need to be made here.

First, his ideology and actions were not the result of any extreme neurotic or pathological psychosocial impulses. He was not a megalomaniac, nor did he display any of the pathological traits often attributed (rightly or wrongly) to fascist leaders, such as hostile aggression, obsessive hatred or delusions. Moreover, while he was an ardent patriot and nationalist, Bose's nationalism was cultural, not

racialist.

Second, his radical political ideology was shaped by a consuming frustration with the unsuccessful efforts of others to gain independence for India. His "fascist" outlook did not come from a drive for personal power or social elevation. While he was ambitious, and clearly enjoyed the devotion of his followers, his obsession was not adulation or power, but rather freedom for his beloved Motherland — a goal for which he was willing to suffer and sacrifice, even at the cost of his life.

Bose was favorably impressed with the discipline and organizational strength of fascism as early as 1930, when he first expressed support for a synthesis of fascism and socialism. During his stays in Europe during the 1930s, he was deeply moved by the dynamism of the two major "fascist" powers, Italy and Germany. After observing these regimes first-hand, he developed a political ideology of his own that, he was convinced, could bring about the liberation of India and the total reconstruction of Indian society along vaguely authoritarian-socialist lines.

Bose's lack of success in his life-long effort to liberate India from alien rule was certainly not due to any lack of effort. From 1921, when he became the first Indian to resign formally from the Indian Civil Service, until his death in 1945 as leader of an Indian government in exile, Subhas Chandra Bose struggled ceaselessly to achieve freedom and prosperity for his beloved homeland.

Notes

1. From Bose's inaugural speech of Sept. 24, 1930. Quoted in: Leonard A. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose* (New York: 1990), p. 234.
2. Speech of November 22, 1944, in S.C. Bose, *Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1970), pp. 403-4.
3. Mihir Bose, *The Lost Hero: A Biography of Subhas Chandra Bose* (London/Melbourne/New York: Quartet Books, 1982), p. x.
4. *Harijan*, Feb. 24, 1946, in Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Ahmedabad: The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Navajivan Trust, 1972-78), Volume LXXXIII, p. 135. Gandhi wrote in the present tense, because at the time he still felt that Bose was alive, but hiding somewhere so that he could appear at the right moment. (See: Speech at Prayer Meeting, Jan. 10, 1946, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume LXXXII, p. 391.).
5. Talk with Deb Nath Das, Feb. 25, 1947, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume LXXXVII, p. 19.
6. *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, Jan. 24, 1970. Cited in: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero* (1982), p. 277, n. 76
7. See: T. Hayashida, *Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose: His Great Struggle and Martyrdom* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1970); K.P. Chaudhuri, *Netaji and India* (Shillong: Kali Prasanna Chaudhuri, 1956).
8. Japan's political system from the early-1930s to mid-1940s can be considered ideologically fascist, following as it did the theories of Kita Ikka, the leading radical nationalist ideologue. In practice, though, it was not truly fascist. No political movement arose to seize power, and formal Japanese constitutional and institutional authority remained essentially intact. Further, parliamentary pluralism continued to exist, and elections continued to take place.
9. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), Nov. 19, 1941. Quoted in: L.A. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*: (1990), p. 454.
10. Bose believed that the BBC attacks ("the cheap method of British propaganda") were directed more against Free India Radio than against himself. He responded to BBC accusations by "reminding" listeners that "Free India Radio is the voice of freedom-loving India. It is the harbinger of the revolution which is fast approaching and which will soon strike a death blow at British power in India." From a "Free India Radio" broadcast of March 5, 1942, quoted in George Orwell [Eric Blair], *Orwell: The War Commentaries*, Edited with an introduction by W.J. West (London: Duckworth and the British Broadcasting Corporation, 1985), p. 222.

    From 1941 to 1943, George Orwell worked as a Talks Producer in the Indian Section of the BBC Eastern Service. He saw Bose as his principal foe in the war of propaganda and, while he chose not to mention him by name (thus denying him and his cause publicity), many of his broadcasts were made in direct response to those of Bose. See: George Orwell [Eric Blair], *Orwell: The War Broadcasts*, Edited with an introduction by W.J. West (London: Duckworth and the BBC, 1985), p. 14. These two volumes contain numerous references to Bose, as well as transcripts of many of his key radio broadcasts from Berlin.
11. A.M. Nair, *An Indian Freedom Fighter in Japan* (Bombay: Orient Longman, 1983), p. 250.
12. L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 235. Both Nitti and Bonomi were former Italian prime ministers, and both were critical of Mussolini's fascist regime. In both books, however, fascism was grudgingly praised for successfully reducing industrial and inter-class strife, and restoring order, discipline and patriotic sentiment. We know that Bose was reading these books in Alipore Jail in 1930, as he wrote on the inside cover of each, next to his signature, "Alipore Jail, 1930."
13. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle 1920-1942*, Compiled by the Netaji Research Bureau (Bombay and other centers: Asia Publishing House, 1964), p. 312. In this edition a collection of letters, speeches and other documents covering the years 1935 to 1940 has been added. Hence the slight change in the title, as compared with the title when the work was first published in 1935.
14. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle 1920-1942* (1964), pp. 312, 313. Text also given in: Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement* (New Delhi: 1983), pp. 189-190.
15. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), p. 313.
16. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), pp. 313, 314.
17. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), p. 231.; L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, pp. 278, 294 (and p. 690, n. 156).
18. L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 294.
19. Report of an interview with R. Palme Dutt, which appeared in the *Daily Worker* (London), Jan. 24, 1938, Republished in S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), pp. 392-394. If authentic, Bose's statements in this interview constitute, to the present writer's knowledge, his only attempt to excuse his positive statements about fascism.
20. Without wishing to draw a parallel between the moral values, personalities and actions of the two men, it is worth pointing out that in *Mein Kampf* Hitler espoused a political ideology that was very similar (with the obvious exception of anti-Semitism and one or two less-central elements) to that espoused by Bose in *The Indian Struggle*: fervent nationalism and full social-political mobilization, coupled with non-Marxist socialism and authoritarian leadership. See: A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Munich: F. Eher, Nachf. [Zen-

tralverlag der NSDAP], 1943 [Zwei Bände in einem Band. Ungekürzte Ausgabe]), pp. 409-517.

Bose had, unlike most prominent politicians in the pre-war period, studied *Mein Kampf* in some detail. Although he complained in 1936 of the Nazis' "selfishness and racial arrogance," he informed Hitler during their meeting in May 1942 that apart from his comments in Chapter 26 on the subject of Indian independence, he found *Mein Kampf* "most agreeable." See: Letter to Dr. Thierfelder, March 25, 1936, in Sisir K. Bose, et al., eds., *A Beacon Across Asia: A Biography of Subhas Chandra Bose* (1973), pp. 258-260.; The Bose-Hitler discussion is treated in this same book, esp. pp. 356, 357, 362.

21. Letter to S. C. Bose, Feb. 4, 1939, in Jawaharlal Nehru, *A Bunch of Old Letters* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1958 [1960 ed.]), p. 318. In this same book, see also Nehru's letter of April 3, 1939, to Bose, esp. pp. 356, 357, 362.
22. Presidential address at the 51st session of the Congress at Haripura, Feb. 19, 1938, in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose* (Delhi: 1962), p. 80. Several authors — such as Sisir Bose and Biduyt Chakrabarty — keen to present Bose in a favorable light, have mistakenly cited this speech as evidence that he had lost faith in fascism. Chakrabarty claimed, for example, that Bose "criticized strongly the Leadership Principle of the fascists as it eroded democracy from the party" and that his speech was a sign of his "growing disillusionment with fascism." See: B. Chakrabarty, *Subhas Chandra Bose and Middle Class Radicalism: A Study in Indian Nationalism, 1928-1940* (London/New York: I.B. Taurus, in association with The London School of Economics & Political Science, 1990), p. 37.

However, the only part of the speech that even mentioned fascism or the Leadership Principle is that quoted in the main body of this essay. It can hardly be considered a strong criticism either of fascism or of the Leadership Principle, especially in the light of the indelicate language sometimes used in public by Bose to strongly criticize other ideologies or regimes. Moreover, he continued to praise elements of Italian Fascism and National Socialism for many more years, as can be seen, for example, in the speech cited above in note 2.
23. Perhaps the most radical component of Bose's policy or program in the period from late 1937 to mid-1938 was his advocacy of an early resumption of the national struggle for independence, to be preceded by an ultimatum to the British government. Additionally, and much to the chagrin of Gandhi (who was opposed to industrialization), Bose launched a National Planning Committee (with Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman and himself as Convener) for drawing up a comprehensive plan of industrialization and national development. See: S.C. Bose, "Forward Bloc: Its Justification," in *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 395-414.
24. Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Thy Hand, Great Anarch!: India 1921-1952* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987), p. 500.
25. Speech at Abbottabad, August 24, 1945, in J. Nehru, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* (A Project of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund; New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1979), volume 14, p. 336;

See also Nehru's statement in *The Hindu*, January 17, 1946, in *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 371: "Netaji Subhas has set an example of courage and passionate devotion to the cause of Indian freedom, which will live long in India's history."

Bose's close friend, Dilip Kumar Roy, more eloquently wrote: "he died dreaming not of his family or defeats, nor even of the clouds that so often blurred his vision, but of the sun he had dreamed of from his boyhood, of faith and courage that would free his great Goddess — his Motherland." D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew* (Bombay: Nalanda Publications, 1946), p. 75.
26. Quoted in: *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 157.
27. Speech at Bangkok, May 21, 1945. Quoted in: *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 228.
28. See: Letter to his brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, April 23, 1921, in *Netaji: Collected Works* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1980/81 [in 3 volumes]), Volume 1, pp. 230-236.
29. D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 199. Quoted in: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 48.
30. Years later, in *An Indian Pilgrim*, Bose claimed that he had merely been an "eyewitness" to the assault on the elderly Englishman, who was "beaten black and blue." (Netaji: *Collected Works*, Volume 1, p. 77). At the time, however, the College Committee was convinced that not only had he masterminded the attack, but that he had participated in it, something he never publicly admitted. In the above-cited letter of April 23, 1921, though, he made a confession of sorts when he said that "If I had stood up before James [the Principal] in 1916 and admitted that I had assaulted Oaten, I would have been a better and truer man."
31. See: L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 259.
32. See: L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 253.
33. As can be seen, for example, in his comments in *The Indian Struggle* (p. 114): "After all, what has brought about India's downfall in the material and political sphere? It is her inordinate belief in fate and in the supernatural — her indifference to modern scientific development — her backwardness in the science of modern warfare, the peaceful contentment engendered by her latter-day philosophy and adherence to Ahimsa (non-violence) carried to the most absurd length." (Also quoted in: L. Gordon, *Brothers*, p. 287.)
34. See Bose's anti-Ahimsa "1933 London Address," in S.C. Bose, *Fundamental Question of India's Revolution*, pp. 1-31. See also the Bose-Patel Manifesto of May 9, 1933, part of which reads: "a new party will have to be formed within the Congress, composed of all radical elements. Non-cooperation cannot be given up but the form of non-cooperation will have to be changed into a more militant one, and the fight for freedom to be waged in all fronts." Reproduced in *The Indian Struggle*, p. 357. Although written in 1943, when Bose was actively seeking Axis assistance against the British, his comments in "India Since 1857 — A Bird's Eye View" make this point very clearly: "While passive resistance can hold up or paralyze a foreign administration — it cannot overthrow or expel it, without the use of physical force. . . The last stage will come when active resistance will develop into an armed revolution. Then will come the end of British rule in India." Published in *The Indian Struggle*, p. 322.
35. S.C. Bose, *An Indian Pilgrim*, in *Netaji: Collected Works*, Volume 1, p. 92. Dilip Kumar Roy noted that even as a student Bose was infatuated with the military, and that "somehow he used, often enough, to cull his phrases from the military dictionary." (D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 50).
36. Nirad Chaudhuri, an associate of Bose, later recalled:

"Bose designated himself as its General-Officer-Commanding — G.O.C. for short — and his uniform was made by a firm of British tailors in Calcutta, Harman's. A telegram addressed to him as G.O.C. was delivered to the British General in Fort William, and this was the subject of a good deal of malicious comment in the Anglo-Indian press. Mahatma Gandhi, being a sincere pacifist [and] vowed to non-violence, did not like the strutting, clicking of boots and saluting, and he afterwards described the Calcutta session of the Congress as a Bertram Mills circus, which caused great indignation among the Bengalis." (Source: Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Continent of Circe*, p. 114. Quoted in Mihir Bose, *The Lost Hero*, pp. 65-66.)

"Subhas Bose took this job seriously," writes Leonard Gordon. "The volunteers were to be well trained and to march in disciplined formation on ceremonial occasions. . . He rode — on a brown horse — in front of his unarmed troops, thinking of them, perhaps, as the kernel of a future army of mass struggle . . . the germ of an idea about an army

trained and commanded by him may have begun to sprout." (L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 191); Hugh Toye stated that Bose's militarism "impressed the pacifist Congressmen in spite of themselves." (Hugh Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, p. 34).

37. Speech at a military review of the Indian National Army, Singapore, July 5, 1943, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 182. Also quoted in: Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement*, pp. 278-279. See also Bose's Order of the Day, August 26, 1943 (the day he officially assumed command of the INA), in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 196-197.
38. Zaidi and Zaidi, *The Encyclopedia of the Indian National Congress*, Volume II, p. 346; A.N. Bose, *My Uncle Netaji*, p. 154. Both quoted in L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 350. See also: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 120.
39. For a detailed account of Bose's Forward Bloc tour of 1939 and 1940, in which he addressed "about a thousand meetings in ten months," see S.C. Bose, *Crossroads* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1981), p. 216-226.
40. M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 210-211.
41. M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 211.
42. S. C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 114, 141, 229, 304.
43. S. C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 114. Of Gandhi, Bose also wrote (p. 241): "I traveled with him, for some days, and was able to observe the unprecedented crowds that greeted him everywhere. I wonder if such a spontaneous ovation was ever given to a leader anywhere else."
44. S. C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 48, 68, 70, 73, 179.
45. Bose constantly condemned any form of compromise, considering it to be a sign of weakness. For example, see his letter to Sarat Bose, April 23, 1921: "I feel, very strongly, as a result of my past experience that compromise is a very unholy thing." (*Netaji: Collected Works*, Volume 1, pp. 230-236.)
46. See: Letter to Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, August 31, 1915. Bose (aged 18) wrote: "I am realizing more and more as time passes that I have a definite mission to fulfil in life and for which I have been born. . . . I must move about with the proud self-consciousness of one imbued with an idea." (*Netaji: Collected Works*, Volume 1, p. 166) See also Letter to Sarkar, July 18, 1915, same source, p. 164.
47. *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 180.
48. D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 85 ff.
49. When his birthday was celebrated in 1944, for instance, his devotees in Singapore actually weighed him in gold and jewelry, and gave the wealth as a donation to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. (M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 238) See also H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 82, 162.
50. Bose is alleged to have liked this myth, and, according to Shah Nawaz, himself boasted "that no British bomb had been manufactured which could kill or maim a Subhas Chandra Bose." (D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 95).
51. M. Sivaram, *The Road to Delhi*, pp. 123, 134-4. Cited in M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 211.
52. It is worth noting that after Bose's death, Gandhi, Nehru and other leading Indian politicians, began calling him Netaji. See notes 4 and 5 above. Mihir Bose states that in India today, few call him anything but Netaji, and to call him Subhas Bose is to reveal that one has a low political opinion of the man. M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 211.
53. Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, October 21, 1943. Reproduced in H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 112, 113, 115, and in Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement* (New Delhi: 1983), pp. 367-370.
54. Many Indians were tortured, imprisoned and executed, either on Bose's instructions or with his knowledge. See: H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 112, 113, 115.
55. See: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 224.
56. See: INA Proclamation on Entering India. Reproduced in *The Springing Tiger* (Appendix II), pp. 208-210, and in, Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement* (New Delhi: 1983), pp. 371-376.

    Part of this document states: "If any person fails to understand the intentions of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army, or of our Ally, the Nippon Army, and dares to commit such acts as are itemized hereunder which would hamper the sacred task of emancipating India, he shall be executed or severely punished in accordance with the Criminal Law of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or with the Martial Law of the Nippon Army." These punishable acts include such things as spreading rumors "disturbing and misleading the minds of the inhabitants," spying, destroying material resources controlled by the Provisional Government, and all forms of rebellion against the Provisional Government or the Japanese Army.
57. Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, for example, the US government — acting according to President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 of February 19, 1942 — forced 110,000 Japanese-Americans into ten camps, erected hastily by the War Relocation Agency, that could well be called concentration camps. During the following three and a half years, the US government also imprisoned 16,000 conscientious objectors, under the Selective Service Act of September 1940. The most severe case was that of Henry Weber, a conscientious objector who was sentenced to hang, but later had that sentence commuted to life imprisonment. (Weber was released at the end of the war, after serving five years.) During the war years, many Communists, socialists, anarchist intellectuals and key members of such societies as the German-American Bund were accused of sedition or espionage (under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1939), and given long prison sentences. US wartime treatment of these prisoners was very bad. Many were interrogated and tortured by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. A Detroit tavern keeper named Max Steven, to mention but one, gave sanctuary to a German POW who had escaped from Canada. For this crime he was tortured, tried, and sentenced to hang, but President Roosevelt commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. He served eleven years. See: R.J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America: From 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1978); G. Perrett, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph: The American People, 1939-1945* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1973).
58. See: Bose's speech to the Indian Independence League Conference in Singapore, July 4, 1943, Cited above. He made it clear that "the time to start an armed struggle for freedom has come," and that all Indians, "at home and those abroad, should gather together with arms under one leader and await the orders for the destruction of the British imperialists." He then explained why he was that "one leader." (See the quotation to which note 50 relates).
59. See also Bose's speech at a mass meeting in Singapore, July 9, 1943, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 185-188. In this speech, he said: "Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organize a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British flag. When the British government is thus attacked from both sides — from inside India and from outside — it will collapse and the Indian people will then regain their liberty."
60. See: Presidential address at All-India Forward Bloc Conference, June 18, 1940, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 118-126: "It is not necessary that the Indian revolution should be a bloody one or that it should pass through a period of chaos. On the contrary, it is desirable that it

should be as peaceful as possible; and a peaceful transition can be ensured if the people are united are determined to have their freedom. . . . This effort will necessitate the setting up of a machinery which will preserve harmony and goodwill under all circumstances."

61. Kitty Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him* (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966), pp. 22.
62. K. Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him* (1966), pp. 22, 23, 28.
63. Presidential address to the All-India Forward Bloc Conference, Nagpur, June 18, 1940, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 124. See also: *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him*, p. 29: Kurti quotes Bose stating on June 10, 1933, that the government of a free India would "stand for all-round freedom for the Indian people — that is, for social, economic and political freedom." It would, he continued, be created "on the basis of the eternal principles of justice, equality and freedom."
64. See: Presidential address at the Rangpur Political conference, March 30, 1929, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 49-50; Reply to the address of welcome presented by the Bombay Corporation, January 1938, same source, pp. 70-71; Speech at Shraddhanand Park, Calcutta, May 3, 1939, Same source, pp. 112-115; For industrialization and state ownership of industries, see: Inaugural speech to the All-India National Planning Committee at Bombay. Dec. 17, 1938, Same source, pp. 97-99.
65. K. Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him*, p. 29; See also Presidential address at the Karachi conference of the All-India Naujawan Bharat Sabha, March 27, 1931, in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 62-64.
66. K. Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him*, pp. 28, 29. See also letter to Hermanta Kumar Sarkar, September 26, 1915, *Netaji: Collected Works*, volume 1, pp. 171-172, and his comments in *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 312-313.
67. *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 185-188.
68. Speech of July 4, 1944, in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 214-215.
69. See: Presidential address to the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, Poona, May 3, 1928, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 31-40.; *Liberty*, Dec. 9, 1930, Cited in L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 238.
70. Speech to the women's section of the Indian Independence League, Singapore, July 12, 1943, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 189-192.
71. See: S. K. Bose, ed., *A Beacon Across Asia* (1973), pp. 182, 219.; H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 86, 146.; L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, pp. 497, 523, 535-36.
72. See: Bose's presidential address at the Students' Conference held at Lahore, October 19, 1929, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 51-59. He stated, *inter alia*: "You have summoned me from distant Calcutta to come and speak to you . . . is it because you and I have something in common — sharing the same thoughts and cherishing the same aspirations? . . . The youth movement of today is characterized by a feeling of restlessness, of impatience with the present order of things, and by an intense desire to usher in a new and better era."
73. Presidential address at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, Poona, May 3, 1928, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 36.

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The simple step of a courageous individual is not to take part in the lie. One word of truth outweighs the world.

— Aleksander Solzhenitsyn

Americans for Equal Justice

3722 South Fifty-Eighth Street, Milwaukee, WI 53220

Dear Friends and Concerned Citizens,

With urgency we draw your attention to the un-American activities of the Office of Special Investigation (OSI) of the U.S. Department of Justice. This agency wastes 3.6 million dollars each year of taxpayers' money on campaigns of revenge by systematically violating the human rights of German-Americans.

More than 50 years ago, during World War II, young German men were unwillingly taken from their homes and drafted into the German army. They were forcibly ordered to serve under threats of death or imprisonment.

After the war ended, many of those who survived came to the United States for a new beginning. U.S. agencies assisted most of these immigrants in obtaining employment and citizenship. Throughout their lives as American citizens they worked hard and raised families. They were model citizens.

Now, some 45 years later, the OSI is accusing these men of having lied or withheld information on their immigration papers regarding their military service. This is not the case. They did not withhold information. And they did not commit war crimes. Nevertheless, the OSI has filed civil lawsuits against many of them. They are stripped of their citizenship, deprived of their Social Security benefits, and deported.

The OSI received authority for such action under the 1978 "Holtzman Amendment" to the Immigration and Nationality Act. It was rammed through Congress when most lawmakers were away on recess. The Amendment was ***retroactive*** to 1933. The way it is written, OSI defendants do not have the normal guarantees of due process, such as trial by jury, equal access to evidence, or a court appointed attorney.

Since 1979 forty-four men have been stripped of their citizenship, 34 have been forced to leave the country, 20 cases are pending, and 500 United States citizens are currently under investigation.

The OSI openly states that, "The files will not close until we have a conviction, a deportation or a body." Indeed, the bodies of the victims are piling up. Impressive if the OSI were prosecuting war criminals; unfortunately, individual cases reveal a much different picture. A few of the more well-known:

JOHN DEMJANJUK, in an Israeli jail for more than five years, with OSI accused of withholding information since 1978 that would exonerate him.

ANDRIJA ARTUKOVIC, forcibly taken off life support and extradited to a Yugoslav jail; he died shortly thereafter. The Yugoslav government now publicly admits that the crimes for which he was extradited never occurred.

DR. ARTHUR RUDOLF, NASA Aerospace Engineer, largely responsible for the success of the U.S. space program, left the country in disgust over false charges, and was acquitted of all charges by the German government.

BRUNO BLACH, acquitted this year of all charges, with the German court stating, "The case should never have been brought," and specifically criticizing the OSI for its handling of the case.

Americans for Equal Justice is a multi-ethnic group of concerned American citizens committed to responsible government and preserving the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Our mission is:

1. Demand that Congress place a moratorium on OSI activities and repeal the Holtzman Amendment.

2. Ask Attorney General Reno to assure that any OSI officials who knowingly participated in fraudulent and illegal activities while conducting their investigations be prosecuted.

As with all lobbying efforts, AEJ needs both the funds to drive it and the people to back it. WE NEED YOU AND YOUR CONCERNED FRIENDS to firmly convey to our government that we are UNITED IN DEMANDING THAT THE INJUSTICES OF OUR JUSTICE DEPARTMENT BE HALTED.

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AEJ plans to approach various sub-committees on immigration, international law, and appropriations. Please send us copies of your correspondence so we can monitor Congressional positions. We, in turn, can assist you, keep you posted on individual cases, court rulings, and their implications. Thank you for your support. Please let us hear from you.

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❑ Yes, I will join Americans for Equal Justice. I want to do my part in bringing to a halt the un-American activities of the OSI which persecute innocent American citizens an their families.

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the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek to determine if they could have been used to kill people as claimed. After a careful study of the alleged killing facilities, Leuchter concluded that the sites were not used, and could not have been used, as homicidal gas chambers. Furthermore, an analysis of samples taken by Leuchter from the walls and floors of the alleged gas chambers showed either no or miniscule traces of cyanide compound, from the active ingredient of Zyklon B, the pesticide allegedly used to murder Jews at Auschwitz.[17]

A confidential forensic examination (and subsequent report) commissioned by the Auschwitz State Museum and conducted by Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow has confirmed Leuchter's finding that minimal or no traces of cyanide compound can be found in the sites alleged to have been gas chambers.[18]

The significance of this is evident when the results of the forensic examination of the alleged homicidal gas chambers are compared with the results of the examination of the Auschwitz disinfestation facilities, where Zyklon B was used to delouse mattresses and clothing. Whereas no or only trace amounts of cyanide were found in the alleged homicidal gas chambers, massive traces of cyanide were found in the walls and floor in the camp's disinfestation delousing chambers.

Another forensic study has been carried out by German chemist Germar Rudolf. On the basis of his on-site examination and analysis of samples, the certified chemist and doctoral candidate concluded: "For chemical-technical reasons, the claimed mass gassings with hydrocyanic acid in the alleged 'gas chambers' in Auschwitz did not take place . . . The supposed facilities for mass killing in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not suitable for this purpose . . . "[19]

Finally, there is the study of Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl, a respected expert witness in numerous court cases, and former president of Austria's professional association of engineers. In a 1992 report he called the alleged mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers "technically impossible."[20]

Discredited Perspective

So just what constitutes "Holocaust denial"? Those who advocate criminal persecution of "Holocaust deniers" seem to be still living in the world of 1946 where the Allied officials of the Nuremberg Tribunal have just pronounced their verdict. But the Tribunal's findings can no longer be assumed to be valid. Because it relied so heavily on such untrustworthy evidence as the Höss testimony, some of its most critical findings are now discredited.

Courts are not the proper place to resolve historical debates. Why should taxpayers be obliged to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars to finance historical debates in criminal courtrooms merely because a particular special interest group doesn't like someone else's opinion? Whether it is politically correct or not, there is a growing controversy over what actually happened to Europe's Jews during World War II. Let this matter be settled as all great historical controversies are resolved: through free and open inquiry and debate in our journals, newspapers and classrooms.

Notes

1. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Jan. 22, 1992.
2. *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (IMT "blue series"), Vol. 22, p. 496.
3. IMT "blue series," Vol. 22, p. 496.
4. *Globe & Mail* (Toronto), April 25, 1990; See also: M. Weber, "Jewish Soap," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991.
5. *Canadian Jewish News* (Toronto), Jan. 30, 1992.
6. See: Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian "False News" Trial of Ernst Zündel* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1992), pp. 192, 300, 349.
7. "The Revised Hilberg," *Simon Wiesenthal Annual*, Vol. 3, 1986, p. 294.
8. B. Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die* (Toronto: 1992), pp. 24-25.
9. A. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History* (Pantheon, 1988), p. 365.
10. Nuremberg document 008-USSR.; IMT "blue series," Vol. 39, pp. 241, 261.
11. B. Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die* (Toronto: 1992), p. 441.
12. Y. Bauer, "Fighting the Distortions," *Jerusalem Post* (Israel), Sept. 22, 1989; Auschwitz Deaths Reduced to a Million," *Daily Telegraph* (London), July 17, 1990; "Poland Reduces Auschwitz Death Toll Estimate to 1 Million," *The Washington Times*, July 17, 1990.
13. J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crémetoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993). See also: R. Faurisson, "Jean-Claude Pressac's New Auschwitz Book," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1994, p. 24.
14. IMT "blue series," Vol. 22, p. 485; Nuremberg document 3868-PS (USA-819), in IMT "blue series," Vol. 33, pp. 275-279.
15. Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death* (England: 1983), pp. 235-237.
16. See: R. Faurisson, "How the British Obtained the Confession of Rudolf Höss," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.
17. A deluxe edition of *The Leuchter Report* is available from the IHR for $20.00, plus $2.00 shipping.
18. The complete text of this report was published in English in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991.
19. G. Rudolf, *Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den "Gaskammern" von Auschwitz* (London: 1993). See: *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1993, pp. 25-26.
20. "The 'Lüftl Report'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93.

A man who seeks truth and loves it must be reckoned precious to any human society.
— Frederick the Great

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The Exposé that Shatters the Myth of Pope Pius XII's Complicity in the Holocaust

THE 'CONFESSIONS' OF KURT GERSTEIN

Author Henri Roques' doctoral thesis made world headlines in 1986 when, for the first time in the nearly eight-century history of French universities, a duly awarded doctorate was revoked by government order.

Henri Roques

What Roques had done was produce a closely argued thesis that struck at the very roots of the Holocaust story's credibility by challenging the "confessions" of SS officer Kurt Gerstein.

For the first time, the accusations of Gerstein—the enigmatic, twisted Third Reich functionary who claimed to have witnessed mass gassings of Jews in 1942—were subjected to thorough critical review. Roques' stunning conclusion: *not only are Gerstein's allegations of a mass extermination of Jews, and a Roman Catholic cover-up of the slaughter groundless, but postwar academics have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein's tortured testimony.*

An indispensable resource for scholar and layman alike, ***The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*** provides transcripts and translations of all six versions of Gerstein's story, as well as photocopies of the originals; a searching examination of both the authenticity and credibility of the "confessions"; and numerous documents and records which have never before been published.

Had I been a member of the jury, I would probably have given a grade of "Very good" to Mr. Roques' thesis.
—Michel de Bouard, Institut de France

. . .From now on researchers will have to take his work into account. . .
—Alain Decaux, Académe Française

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INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

Charting Europe's Future in the "Post Postwar" Era

The "European New Right": Defining and Defending Europe's Heritage

An Interview with Alain de Benoist

Ian B. Warren

In the following essay and interview, Professor Warren takes a close look at the "European New Right," a cultural-intellectual movement that offers not only an unconventional view of the past, but a challenging perspective on the present and future. This piece admittedly represents a departure from the Journal's usual content and tone. All the same, we hope and trust that readers will appreciate this look at an influential movement that not only revives an often neglected European intellectual-cultural tradition, but which also — as French writer Alain de Benoist explains here — seeks to chart Europe's course into the 21st century. — The Editor

During the postwar era — approximately 1945-1990 — European intellectual life was dominated by Marxists (most of them admirers of the Soviet experiment), and by supporters of a liberal-democratic society modeled largely on the United States. Aside from important differences, each group shared common notions about the desirability and ultimate inevitability of a universal "one world" democratic order, into which individual cultures and nations would eventually be absorbed.

Not all European thinkers accepted this vision, though. Since the late 1960s, a relatively small but intense circle of youthful scholars, intellectuals, political theorists, activists, professors, and even a few elected parliamentarians, has been striving — quietly, but with steadily growing influence — to chart a future for Europe that rejects the universalism and egalitarianism of both the Soviet Marxist and American capitalist models.

This intellectual movement is known — not entirely accurately — as the European New Right, or *Nouvelle Droite*. (It should not be confused with any similarly named intellectual or political movement in Britain or the United States, such as American "neo-conservatism.") European New Right voices find expression in numerous books, articles, conferences and in the pages of such journals as *Elé-ments*, *Scorpion* and *Transgressioni*.

Ian B. Warren is the pen name of a professor who teaches at a university in the midwest. This interview/ article is the second of a series.

No one has played a more important role in this movement than Alain de Benoist, a prolific French writer born in 1943. As the chief philosopher of the *Nouvelle Droite*, he serves as a kind of contemporary Diogenes in European intellectual life. According to the critical *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right*, de Benoist is "an excellent stylist, cultivated and highly intelligent."[1]

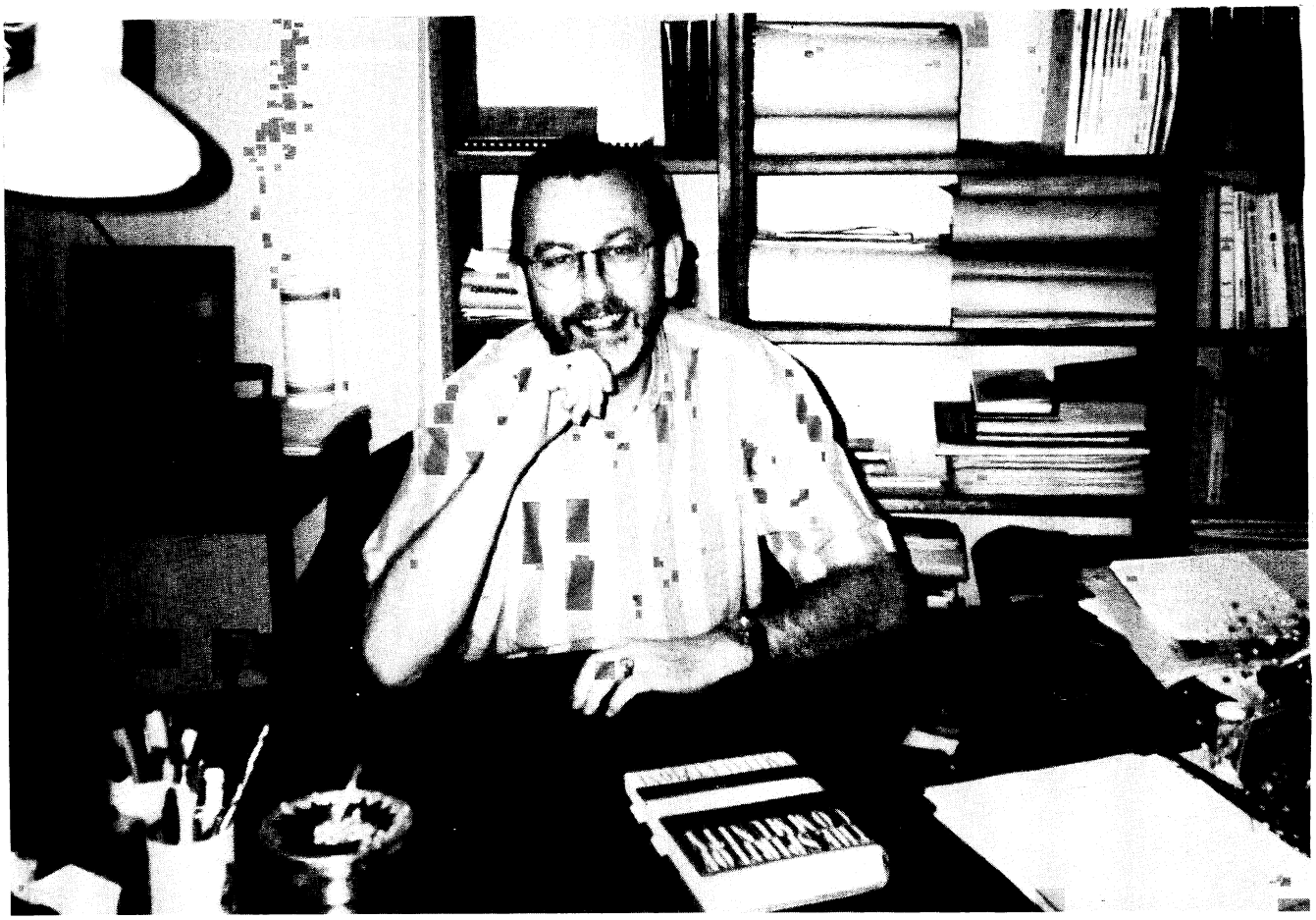
He has explained his worldview in a prodigious outpouring of essays and reviews, and in several books, including a brilliant 1977 work, *Vu de Droite* ("Seen from the Right"), which was awarded the coveted Grand Prix de l'Essai of the Académie Française. (His books have been translated into Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, German, Dutch and Arabic, but none has yet appeared in English.)

For some years a regular contributor to the French weekly *Le Figaro Magazine*, de Benoist has served as editor of the quarterly *Nouvelle Ecole*, of the magazine *Eléments*, and, most recently, of a quarterly review, *Krisis*.[2] For some years he also played a leading role in the operation of the Paris-based group GRECE ("Research and Study Group for European Civilization"), which is sometimes described as an organizational expression of the *Nouvelle Droite*.[3]

De Benoist's fondest wish, he once said, would be to see the "peoples and cultures of the world again find their personality and identity." He believes that Europe has largely sold its soul for a mess of cheap "Made in the USA" pottage. American-style economic and cultural hegemony is a "soft" but insidious totalitarianism that erodes the character of individuals and the heritage of nations. To the peoples of Europe, de Benoist and the European New Right insistently pose this question: How can we preserve and sustain our diversity in the face a consumer-driven world based largely on a synthetic universalism and egalitarianism?

A dramatic indication of de Benoist's importance came during a visit to Berlin in February 1993, when he was attacked and beaten by about 20 young "anti-fascist" thugs.

Few people on this side of the Atlantic know much about de Benoist and the intellectual movement he represents. The most cogent and useful



Alain de Benoist in his Paris office

overview in English is a 200-page book, *Against Democracy and Equality: The European New Right*, by Tomislav Sunic, a Croatian-born American political scientist.[4]

The task of the European New Right, explains professor Sunic in his 1990 monograph, is to defend Europe — especially its rich cultural heritage — above all from the economic-cultural threat from the United States.[5] According to Sunic:[6]

> The originality of the [European] New Right lies precisely in recognizing the ethnic and historical dimensions of conservatism — a dimension considered negligible by the rather universalist and transnational credo of modern Western conservatives . . .
>
> The New Right characterizes itself as a revolt against formless politics, formless life, and formless values. The crisis of modern societies has resulted in incessant "uglification" whose main vectors are liberalism, Marxism and the "American way of life." Modern dominant ideologies, Marxism and liberalism, embedded in the Soviet Union and America respectively, are harmful to the social well-being of the peoples, because both reduce every aspect of life to the realm of economic utility and efficiency.
>
> The principle enemy of freedom, asserts the New Right, is not Marxism or liberalism per se, but rather common beliefs in egalitarianism.

In the intellectual climate of the postwar era, writes Sunic, "those who still cherished conservative ideas felt obliged to readapt themselves to new intellectual circumstances for fear of being ostracized as 'fellow travellers of fascism'."[7] The European New Right draws heavily from and builds upon the prewar intellectual tradition of such anti-liberal figures as the Italians Vilfredo Pareto and Roberto Michels, and the Germans Oswald Spengler and Carl Schmitt. Not surprisingly, then, *Nouvelle Droite* thinkers are sometimes dismissively castigated as "fascist."[8]

In the view of the European New Right, explains Sunic, "The continuing massification and anomie in modern liberal societies" is a symptom "of the modern refusal to acknowledge man's innate genetic, historical and national differences as well as his cultural and national particularities — the features that are increasingly being supplanted with a belief that human differences occur only as a result of different cultural environments."[9]

Real, "organic" democracy can only thrive, contends de Benoist, in a society in which people share a firm sense of historical and spiritual commitment to their community. In such an "organic" polity, the law derives less from abstract and preconceived principles, than from shared values and civil participation.[10] "A people," argues Benoist, "is not a transitory sum of individuals. It is not a chance aggregate," but is, instead, the "reunion of inheritors of a specific fraction of human history, who on the basis of the sense of common adherence, develop the will to pursue their own history and given themselves a common destiny."[11]

New Right thinkers warn of what they regard as the dangers inherent in multi-racial and multicultural societies. In their view, explains Sunic,[12]

> A large nation coexisting with a small ethnic group within the same body politic, will gradually come to fear that its own historical and national identity will be obliterated by a foreign and alien body unable or unwilling to share the same national, racial, and historical consciousness.

Sharply rejecting the dogma of human equality that currently prevails in liberal democratic societies, these New Right thinkers cite the work of scientists such as Hans Eysenck and Konrad Lorenz.[13] At the same time, the European New Right rejects all determinisms, whether historical, economic or biological. Contends de Benoist: "In the capacity of human being, for man, culture has primacy over nature, history has primacy over biology. Man *becomes* by creating from what he already is. He is the *creator himself*."[14]

Consistent with its categorical rejection of universalism, the European New Right rejects the social ideology of Christianity. In de Benoist's view, the Christian impact on Europe has been catastrophic. Christian universalism, he contends, was the "Bolshevism" of antiquity.[15]

In spite of the formidable resistance of an entrenched liberal-Marxist ideology, the impact of the European New Right has been considerable. While its views have so far failed to win mass following, it has had considerable success in eroding the once almost total leftist-liberal intellectual hegemony in Europe, and in restoring a measure of credibility and respect to Europe's prewar conservative intellectual heritage. In Sunic's opinion, the merit of the European New Right has been to warn us that "totalitarianism need not necessarily appear under the sign of the swastika or the hammer and sickle," and to "draw our attention" to the defects of contemporary liberal (and communist) societies.[16]

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the collapse of the Iron Curtain (perhaps most dramatically symbolized by the tearing down of the Berlin wall), the end of USA-USSR Cold War rivalry, as well as mounting political, economic and ethnic problems in Europe, a new age has dawned across the continent — an era not only of new problems and danger, but also of new opportunities. In this new age, the struggle of the European New Right takes on enormously greater relevance and importance.

One evening in June 1993, this writer had the opportunity to meet at length with Alain de Benoist in his Paris office. Amid a prodigious clutter of accumulated books, journals, and pamphlets, this prolific philosopher and influential intellectual "agitator" provided insights and observations in reply to a series of questions. (Our meeting had been arranged by Professor Sunic, who sat in on the discussion.)

* * * * *

Q: Let me first ask you how it happened that you became, in effect, the founder of a new intellectual movement. Exactly how did this come about?

B: I did not set out to do this. In 1968, when I was 25 years old, I had the idea of creating a new journal — a more or less academic or, better yet, a theoretical journal, which was given the name *Nouvelle Ecole* ["New School"]. At first it was not even printed, merely photocopied in a very primitive way. Still, it achieved a certain success, and after a while some friends wanted to try to organize the readership into a cultural association. So that was the beginning. This association later took the name of GRECE. I was not involved in actually founding GRECE, because I am not so much a man of organizations or movements, even cultural. I'm more what you might call a "closet intellectual." Since that beginning more than 25 years ago, there have been many conferences, colloquia, books, booklets, papers, and journals. This movement has never been directly connected with politics; rather it has been cultural, philosophical, and theoretical. Of course, we are interested in politics, but, like all those who see themselves as intellectuals, only as spectators.

Q: What do see as the future of the movement? Do you see any particular end in view?

B: No, I have no intention of changing myself or to change what I do. But your question is, what is the destiny of ideas. Oh, sometimes it's nothing at all, but you never know. It's impossible to know. What you can say is that in world history, especially in the recent world history, in my opinion, there can be no political revolution, or even a major political event, if there had not already occurred some kind of change in the minds of the people. So I believe that the cultural revolution comes first, and the political revolution comes after that. But that does not mean that when you make something cultural, it is because you want, in the end, to make something political. This is not done by the same people, you see. If I can give an example, the French Revolution probably would not have been possible without the work of the Enlightenment philosophers.

Yet, it was not these philosophers who actually made the revolution. Quite probably they had no idea of that possibility. But it came. So it's very hard to know the destiny of what you do. I do it because I like what I do, and because I am interested in ideas and the history of ideas. I am not a utilitarian, so I don't care to know if it is useful or useless; this is not my concern.

Q: Have you seen your ideas change, or have

De Benoist addresses an audience

they remained the same?

B: They are always undergoing change. When we started this school of thought or trend, we had no literal catechism. It was not dogma, but rather it was a mixture of conviction and empiricism. So we have changed on some points. Some of the ideas we have developed have revealed themselves to be not very good, or perhaps what might be called "dead ends."

Q: Can you give an example of a "dead end?"

B: Yes. For example, 20 or 25 years ago I was much more of a positivist than I am today. I remember that I devoted an issue of *Nouvelle Ecole* to the philosophy of Bertrand Russell, for example. And there appeared plenty of things against such strange people as Martin Heidegger and so on. But 20 years later I devoted an issue of *Nouvelle Ecole* to Heidegger, one that was very favorable to his philosophy.[17] This is, of course, just one example. That doesn't mean that we have changed everything; that would be stupid, of course. But it's a living school, like a living organism. You have to retain something and to work deeper on those things, but some things you have to abandon because they are simply false. Well, we don't want to repeat variations around the same theme year after year.

Q: How would you assess the significance of the *Nouvelle Droite*?

B: Well, first I have to spell out my concerns with some words — the very name: the New Right. I don't like it for several reasons. First, you should know that we did not invent this name. It was given to us. About ten years after the first appearance of journals such as *Nouvelle Ecole* and *Eléments*, there was a very large-scale mass media campaign in which the expression, "The New Right," was produced by people who were quite outsiders from our circle. We attempted to change it. We tried to say that it's not "The New Right" but, "A New Culture." Yet "new culture" is not a very clear term. And, in our modern society, when you have been given a wrong label, it just sticks.

I don't like this term because, first of all, it gives us a very political image, because "right" is a political term. Therefore, when you speak about "the New Right," the people who do know nothing about it immediately believe it is some kind of political party. Of course, it is not. We are a theoretical and cultural movement.

At the same time, there is something that is clearly political — particularly in America — with this "New Right" name. Even though it is in different countries, people thus start to believe that this is the same thing. Based on everything I know about it, the so-called New Right in America is completely different from ours. I don't see even a single point with which I could agree with this so-called New Right. Unfortunately, the name we now have gives rise to many misunderstandings.

While I cannot say that, after these many years, the [European] New Right is accepted everywhere — that is obvious — I can say that, in ever wider circles, it is accepted in France as a part of the cultural-political landscape. Debate and discussion here during the last two decades could not be thought of without the contribution of the New Right. Moreover, it is because the New Right has taken up particular themes that particular debates have taken place at all. I refer, for example, to discussions about the Indo-European legacy in Europe, the Conservative Revolution in Germany, about polytheism and monotheism, or about I.Q. — heredity or environment (which is partly a rather false dichotomy), participatory democracy, federalism and communitarian ideas, criticism of the market

ideology, and so forth. Well, we were involved in all these issues. As a result, I think, the situation in France today is a bit different.

When the New Right first appeared in France in 1968, the times were completely different. For me, the ideology of the extreme left was a kind of model or standard. Marxism, Freudianism and so on, were everywhere. In the years since then, all of those "ideological churches" have fallen apart. Very few people in France today would describe themselves as Marxists. Jean-Paul Sartre, a very famous philosopher, died [in 1980] without any particular ideological legacy. The landscape had already completely changed. I would say that there are no longer are any ready-made ideas. All of the grand ideologies or ideological characters have more or less disappeared. More and more the intellectuals have to look for something new; something original and beyond the ready-made solutions of the past.

We must accept, first of all, the fact that we are out of the post-World War II period, and that we have entered a new world epoch — that there are new frontiers, both in political and ideological terms. And we don't want to impeach people simply because they come from different ideological starting points. So it is clear that the times have changed. And always when the times are changing, some people want to keep things as they were. Opposition to the New Right is often "wet" or undogmatic, which means more liberty for everyone. I mean, for example, that there are people in the leftist circles who are willing to discuss issues with me, or to be published in *Krisis*, the journal I started in 1988. (Of course, there are other leftists who absolutely refuse to do so).[18]

In the last several years, the New Right has produced numerous articles rejecting the ideal of the economy as the destiny of society and criticizing alike conservatism, liberalism, socialism, and Marxism — in short, all of the "productivistic" ideologies that see earning money and possessing wealth as the key to human meaning and happiness. All these ideologies fail to confront the main issue of individual and collective meaning: What are we doing here on earth? So we have published numerous books and articles against consumerism, the commodity-driven life, or the *idéologie de la marchandise*. Of course, such themes are more or less a bridge between people coming from the Right and coming from the Left. So you have also the new phenomenon of the "Greens," which, again, is a bit different in France and America. For example, we have in France a "green" ecology movement — a political party, in fact — that describes itself as neither Right or Left.

Thus we have today in Europe numerous new political parties — ecological, cultural identity and region-oriented. While these are, of course, different options, each of them goes beyond the idea of Right versus Left. Each reflects the consequences of the decay of the traditional nation-state. Each is trying to find, beyond individualism, some kind of community. While each has a different base, of course, there is also a common idea, because we can no longer continue to live in an age of narcissism, consumerism, individualism, and utilitarianism.

Q: What would you say is the political importance today of the so-called New Right? Does it have any direct or tangible political significance?

B: No, I could not say that. I know people in probably every political party in France, ranging from the *Front National* to the Communist Party. The New Right does not have a *direct* influence. The influence that the New Right has had is clearly in terms of the theoretical and cultural. The discussions we have generated have had an impact on the new social-political movements. But you know, it is very difficult even to try to isolate these influences. Most of the time, I think, the ideas go underground. Nietzsche once said that ideas come "sur des pattes de colombe" — on the feet of a dove.

All the same, one can tell that there is currently some kind of influence by us on the new social or political movements in Europe, such as the identity parties, the regional parties, and the Green parties. Many of these people read what we produce, but it is hard to say just what they do with it. You never know not only just what influences your ideas have, but what becomes of ideas between their origin and their manifestation [in action]; they are always twisted. Even when you have people who say, "I agree with you, I like what you do," the use they make of your ideas is, of course, sometimes not exactly what you had in mind.

Q: Can you give an example of where you feel the ideas of the movement have been misused? Does this bother you?

B: In a way. Yes. I could say the Le Pen movement [of the French *Front National*]. This doesn't mean that the Le Pen movement grew primarily from New Right ideas, but it is clear that when the New Right spoke about the necessity of retaining collective identity, for example, this had an impact. So it might be confused a bit with quite a different philosophy, which is more xenophobic against immigrants, and so on. But this is not the position of the New Right. Our national identity is not in danger because of the identity of others. We say, instead, "Here we are. We have to fight together against the people who are against any form of any identity." You see what I mean? Criticizing uncontrolled immigration doesn't mean criticizing immigrants.

Q: So it is not so much a question of one identity in conflict with another, but a more fundamental question of whether it is possible to have *any* kind of identity?

B: Yes, I think it is possible to make a coalition of all kinds of people who want to retain identity against a world trend that dissolves every form of identity, through technology, the economy, a uni-

form way of life and consumerism around the world. People such as Le Pen say that, either way, we are losing our identity because of the immigrants. I believe that we are not losing our identity because of the immigrants. We have already lost our identity, and it is because we have already lost it that we cannot face the problem of immigrants. You see, that is quite a great difference of views.

Q: Isn't this idea of forming a coalition a philosophical one? In reality, doesn't the nation-state demand that one have citizenship and through this one is granted an identity? If you do away with the nation-state, your idea is possible, but is it possible within the nation-state? Doesn't the nation-state require a competition or conflict between identities?

B: I think that the nation-state is slowly disappearing. It exists, of course, formally — I don't want to say that France or Germany or Spain is going to disappear. But it is it not the same kind of society. First, you can see that every Western society lives in more or less the same way, whether it is a republic, a democracy, a constitutional monarchy, and so on. Second, we have unification through the media, television, and consumerism; so that's the same way of life. After that you have the building of the so-called European Community or European Union. So the nation-state is slowly disappearing. This process is very complex, of course, because the nation-state retains authority in many fields. And sometimes it is good that it retains some authority. Still, it is clear to us that, to use a popular expression, the nation-state is too big for the little problems, and too little for the big problems.

Q: Are you saying that the nation-state is obsolete as a basis for responding to problems and for creating identity. Are you saying that it cannot exist in a healthy form?

B: You can't retain a commonplace or, vulgar — as it were — attitude, or a mere identity on paper. It is necessary to really live organically, not in some theater. Thus, in France today, we need more small-scale organic units and regions. Historically, you must not forget, France is the very model of the nation-state. And the French nation-state was organized first through the kings, and then through Revolution [1789-1792], that is, through Jacobinism. (Of course this process existed before the Revolution; de Toqueville saw this very clearly.)

French unity was made on the ruins of the local traditions of local languages. In France today you have only one official language: French. In fact, though, eight different languages are still spoken, even if not by very many people, including Corsican, Flemish, German, Basque, and Breton.

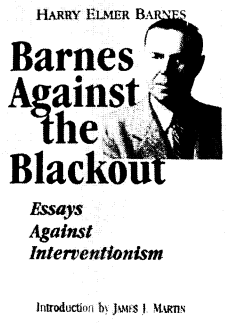
Q: Are you saying that the idea of the nation-state today is an idea of decadence? What is the source of this decadence? Is it the nation-state itself?

B: No. I think the nation-state is just a by-product. You can have the same decadence in countries that are supposed to be more federal, such as the United States. It is not just a matter of the nation-state of the French model. I think that the decay began very early, quite probably at the end of the Middle Ages or even earlier. Of course you can always go back to some earlier roots. But it is the birth of modernity. Modernity was also the beginning of individualism; the rejection of traditions; the ideology of progress; the idea that tomorrow will be better than yesterday just because it is tomorrow; that is, something that is new is better just because it is new; and then the ideal of a finalized history; that all humankind is doomed to go in the same direction.

BARNES AGAINST THE BLACKOUT

Essays Against Interventionism

With an introduction by James J. Martin



American intellectual giant Harry Elmer Barnes —historian, sociologist, criminologist, journalist, and controversialist without peer—was, for over half a century, our country's leading voice for avoiding unnecessary wars through objective study of their causes. A pioneer in the Revisionist school of history, Barnes evaded the snares by which "conservatives" and "liberals" alike have been lured into fighting one costly war, "conflict" or "police action" after another during this century. A bolt of lightning against the Establishment's historical blackout, Barnes had the courage to find and reveal the *facts* on how our government lied us into two world wars once upon a time when almost all Americans trusted their leaders, and his and was a prescient voice in the wilderness against our involvement in the Korean and Vietnam quagmires. These nine classic essays are Barnes at his best. Informed, passionate, more relevant than ever, they show how the twentieth century's equivalent of the corrupt court historians of despots past erected a glittering facade of lies to hide the hollowness of America's "victories" in the two world wars, then used the false arguments that got us into those wars to inflict a post-1945 "perpetual war for perpetual peace" warfare state on three generations of Americans who have come of age since.

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Along with this is the theory of "steps": that some people are a bit advanced while others are a bit late, so that the people who are advanced have to help those who are not. The "backward" people are supposed to be "lifted up" in order to arrive at the same step. This is the Rostows' theory of "development."

With this comes an ever more materialistic attitude, with the goal of all people becoming affluent. This in turn means failure to build a socially organic relationship, of losing the more natural links between people, and mass anonymity, with everyone in the big cities, where nobody helps anybody; where you have to go back in your home to know the world, because the world comes through the TV. So this is the situation of decay. Political, economic and technological forces try to make a "One World" today in much the same way that the French state was built on the ruins of the local regional cultures. This "One World" civilization is being built on the ruins of the local peoples' cultures. So it is that, in the wake of the fall of Communism, the so-called "Free World" realizes this, and that it is not so "free" after all. We seemed free when compared to the Communist system, but with the disappearance of that system, we no longer have a basis by which to compare ourselves.

In addition, to be "free" can mean different things: to be free *for* doing something, for instance, is quite different than to be free *not* to do something.

Q: In your writings you have mentioned that it is important to have an enemy. Were you implying that with the fall of Communism, because there is no longer a clear enemy, there can be no clear identity?

B: Not exactly. It's clear that you can have an identity without an enemy; but you cannot have an identity without somebody else having another identity. That doesn't mean that the others are your enemies, but the fact of the otherness can become in certain circumstances, either an enemy or an ally. I mean that if we are all alike — that we if there is just "One World" — we no longer have any identity because we are no longer able to differentiate ourselves from others. So the idea of identity is not directly connected to an enemy; the idea of an enemy is connected with the collective independence; that is, collective liberty.

There are many definitions of "the enemy," of course. Traditionally, the enemy is a people that makes war against you. But today's wars are not always armed conflicts. There can be cultural wars or economic wars, which are conducted by people who say they are your friends. You could say that a basic definition of the enemy is any force that threatens or curtails your liberty. Each nation must define this for itself. What is a good basis for determining this today? I think this must be done on the level of Europe itself, because the nation-states are too small for this. When Soviet Communism disappeared, it seemed to give way to a worldwide wave of liberalism. In the view of some, it means the "end of history." I do not believe that history is finished. I believe that history is just at the point of a new beginning.

We have to organize the world, not on the basis of a "One World" logic, but in very large zones or areas, each more or less "self-centered" or self-sufficient. The United States has already understood this, I think, in creating a free trade zone with Canada and Mexico. Japan already has zones of influence in Southeast Asia. Here in Europe we must have our own way of life, which is not the way of life of the Japanese or the Americans, but is rather the European ways of life. I don't think that these ways of life have to be hostile towards others. Hopefully not. But it has to be aggressive against those who intend to keep Europeans from living their our own way of life.

Q: Does Europe have the strength or the ability to resist such forces?

B: The ability, yes. But the will? In today's world, you first of all have to resist from both an economic and a cultural point of view. By cultural I mean very popular mass media and its powers. Today, if you turn on your radio in France, nine times out of ten you will hear American music. In America, when you turn on your radio you will hear only American music. This problem, which is also true for the cinema, is a kind of monopoly; culture always from the same source, and so consistent. You may ask if it is possible to resist this kind of invasion. Considering the enormous budgets of these American films, to counter this we may have to act together, rather than in a single country.

Now I am not suggesting that in France we should hear only French music. This would be ridiculous. We have to be open to others. The problem is that there are more countries in the world besides France and America; I would also enjoy hearing other varieties as well. I am not for a closed society. I would be very *malheureux* — unhappy — to get only French films, French sounds. I very much enjoy foreign products. But I wonder why we do not see Danish, Spanish, Russian or Dutch cultural products in France, though those countries are quite close by. Instead we always have the same American imports. Sometimes they are good, but most of the time I would say that they are not. So what happens, for example, when the Japanese and the French, the people in South Africa and the villagers in Kansas, all receive the same Rambo message? Is that good for civilization or not? This is the question: the quality of the product.

Q: I have heard that in France one week is set aside each year when American films cannot be shown. Is that true?

B: No, you are referring to something quite different: by law in France, TV channels cannot broadcast too many films on Saturday night. This law is

supposed to help the French film industry, even though it has absolutely nothing to do with the origin of the films. This is a situation peculiar to France, even though we still have a good French film industry, which is greatly appreciated in other European countries. This means that television has not entirely killed the French cinema. The situation is quite different in Italy and Germany, which is very dramatic when you consider the former quality of the Italian or German films.

In another way, though, I think that "popular [mass] culture" in France is probably worse than in Italy, Spain, Germany, or other lands. I travel a great deal. I think that there is an Italian people, a German people, and that even with many foreign films, they are not affected in the same way as the French. When you are in Germany, or Italy, or Spain, or England, people in each country live a bit differently.

This is not so true in France, I think. The main reason is that so many more people live in large cities. Eighty-five per cent of the French people live in the main cities now. So the French countryside is a desert, a social desert.

Q: Are you saying then that France is more vulnerable to this cultural invasion from America then, for example, Italy or Germany?

B: I understand very well the market decision of the Disney company people to locate "Eurodisney" in France (even though this has proven to be a financial failure). The threat is that today every decision is a market decision. This is Americanism. A country has a right to make a decision that is not a market decision, and even against the market, because the laws of the market are not the laws of life.

Q: Although you have already indicated that this is not your primary concern, let me now go back for a moment to a question of practical politics. I want to know your ideas about how to strengthen resistance in this cultural war. What can be done that is not now being done?

B: In history you have always two kinds of factors. The first is the conscious will of the people to do something. I must say that in Europe this will is very weak today, and lacking in intensity. The second factor is that things happen outside of the will of anybody. Consider the fall of the Berlin Wall. Of course, the Russians had the will to say "Okay, you can tear it down now." But in Germany, until that moment, nobody was really *willing* to tear down the wall. Some Germans hoped to see it come down, and others said that maybe after five, ten or 15 years a confederation [of the two German states] would arise. So if you consider the trend throughout Europe, it is more or less the same: the people and their governments talk and talk, and do nothing! The war in the former Yugoslavia is the best example of this I see.

A principle of conflicting interests is also involved here. Most European governments want to conclude a free trade agreement, based on the United States model. It is a fact, of course, that the interests of Europe, America, and Japan are no longer convergent. But there are common interests of each with regard to the Third World countries, where the people are paid so low that they can produce everything for almost nothing. If it is possible to manufacture a pair of shoes in the Third World for one franc, it is done. As a result, we now have all the problems of unemployment here. Experts predict that within two years there will be 24 million jobless people in the countries of the European Community. Never in the entire world history of capitalism have we seen that. In such a situation you cannot calmly sit in your chair and say, "Well, let's wait a bit more." You have to react, because the need to deal with such a situation becomes so great. Each nation must protect its own interests. Free trade agreements must be limited. It is the same, of course, for America, which protects its own industries while denying this same right to Europe.

I think that these forces will more likely produce a world of large-scale competing units than one in which each nation is preserved. I do not think this trend reflects the will of the people. I mean that the process seems to be going on as a result of cer-

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tain factors that have nothing to do with what people want.

Q: This process of forming these new and larger entities is not just a natural accident of history. Doesn't it require conscious organization of some kind? Or do you think it is a sort of natural historical development?

B: I don't believe there is much natural development in history. You have to will something, and yet, will alone is not sufficient, of course. You must have the necessary pre-conditions; so it is an equilibrium between what is wanted and what is possible. Politics is, as the saying goes, "the realm of what is possible," that is, between what is a necessity and what is a possibility. So, it is not natural. But of course, when you have a certain situation like today, you can predict that things are likely to take this or that direction. Change can also be reversed, of course.

For example, the main characteristic of the current state of world politics is that, in the minds of most politicians, that Berlin Wall has still not fallen. They still analyze the world on the basis of former conceptions, former ideas, because that view worked in the past. We have a new state of the world, but we haven't yet adapted to it. So we continue to reason on the basis of the world order created in 1945 — as if that political, economic and cultural order will last forever. So, I think that while world conditions have begun to change, our mind-set and perceptions have not changed.

Q: Some analysts predict the overthrow of an obsolete "political class." Do you see a new awareness regarding the need to replace the ruling class?

B: One thing that is quite new in the present period is this: in former times, when the people disagreed massively with the ruling powers, they would overthrow them, and there would be an explosion. Today, though, in the Western world we are in a period not of social or political explosion, but more in an epoch of *implosion*. The people disagree with the political class, but they do not try to overthrow it; they don't try to change the regime. They merely turn away.

So this is a time of retreat, of flight, of withdrawal. People try to live and organize their own lives. They don't participate in elections. That's why you see so many new self-assertive social movements, which we in France sometimes call the "new tribes." This term often has a pejorative meaning, but in general there is something positive here.

Before the emergence of the nation-state, people were, of course, organized into tribes. Tribes are now returning in the name of communities, or something akin to that. In France we do not have this phenomenon on the political level to the degree that it has been occurring in Italy, notably with the regionalist *Lega Nord*. Here in France, what you can see is that fewer people are voting. Now more than one-third of the electorate has stopped going to the polls. (The exception is presidential elections, because these are more personalized.) And another third of the electorate votes for non-conformist parties — the ecologists, *Front National*, regionalists, and so on — while only one-third still votes for the older, "classical" parties.

A problem in France is that our representative system provides no legal place for opposition political forces. Today we have a more or less conservative majority, which got 40 percent of the vote in the general election. But with 40 percent of the vote, they gained more than 80 percent of the parliament seats. The *Front National*, with three million votes, got zero seats, and the ecologists, with two million votes, likewise got zero seats. When you arrive at a point of such distortion, you realize that the political system no longer works. Of course, this is one major reason why people don't bother to vote anymore. Why go to vote when you are sure that you will get no say at all?

Q: It appears to be very much the same in the United States.

B: For me, as a European observer, the American two major-party system always makes it difficult for any third party to arise. It is very strange. In Europe we have evolved a broader spectrum of options, I think. While it is sometimes difficult even for Americans to see any real difference between the Republican and Democratic parties, for me it is almost impossible. Each is really interested only in more business and economic efficiency — frankly, I don't see any difference. For me it is a one-party system with two different factions.

Q. So you see this American monopoly or hegemony as the key problem? Are you implying that it is not so much the contact as such, which may have some good elements, but mainly that there is no choice?

B: These are two different problems. Of course, there is the problem of monopoly — that's clear — but if the products were quite good — after all I like quality, too, even if it comes from the outside. The Romans took everything from classical Greece and it was not so bad, after all.

I enjoy visiting the United States, because it is always very interesting. Although I am very critical, of course, of the content of capitalist values, there are some things in America that I like very much: everything works much better than here in Europe! But is efficiency an ideal? And what price do you have to pay for this efficiency? You can be rich, but also have an empty life. Another problem, I think, is that American society — for us, America is more a society than a nation or a people — is to a large extent a product of its Puritan origins. This idea that all people are born free and equal, that America is a new promised land, with people quoting the Bible, can be seen in the spirit of the American Declaration of Independence and the US Constitution.

Q: Why don't you consider America a nation?

B: It's a special kind of nation, if you will. There

is a very strong American patriotism, of course — and we have seen many examples of that in history. But because it is more a mixture of such different cultural and ethnic stocks, the United States of America is not what we in Europe regard as a traditional nation.

* * * * *

Throughout our conversation, de Benoist's remarks left me with a certain ambivalence. He was identifying my own nation as the enemy of the very civilization from which America derived. Even when he tried to re-assure me that there was nothing personal in his critique of American culture, it was clear that he was marking out a battleground of antagonistic ideas. Those who value the cultural heritage of Europe would have to look beyond day-to-day political and economic disputes between the European Community and the United States to understand that much more is at stake here. Our discussion had touched on some of most critical issues of social identity and organization, with profound implications for cultural and collective survival.

Notes

1. Philip Rees, *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), p. 30.
2. *Krisis*, 5 impasse Carrière-Mainguet, 75011 Paris, France.
3. GRECE is an acronym of "Groupement de recherche et d'études pour la civilisation européenne. ("Research and Study Group for European Civilization."). Address: GRECE, B.P. 300, 75 265 Paris Cedex 06, France.

   Established in May 1968, GRECE was formally organized in January 1969. It characterizes itself as "an association of thought with intellectual vocation." Its avowed goals, writes Sunic (p. 12), "are to establish an association of thinkers and erudites sharing the same ideals, as well as organize its membership into the form of an organic and spiritual working community."

   The name is not accidental. It suggests the French name for Greece — "Grèce" — calling to mind Europe's Hellenic and pre-Christian cultural heritage.
4. *Against Democracy and Equality* (196 + xii pages), by Tomislav Sunic, with a preface by Paul Gottfried, was published by Peter Lang of New York in 1990.
5. See the preface by P. Gottfried in T. Sunic, *Against Democracy and Equality* (1990), p. ix.
6. T. Sunic, *Against Democracy and Equality* (1990), pp. 19, 20.
7. T. Sunic (1990), p. 7
8. Sunic comments (p. 99) that "The New Right contends that due to the legacy of fascism, many theories critical of egalitarianism have not received adequate attention on the grounds of their alleged 'anti-democratic character'."
9. T. Sunic (1990), pp. 104-105.
10. Sunic writes (p. 120): "Faced with immense wealth which surrounds him, a deracinated and atomized individual is henceforth unable to rid himself of the fear of economic insecurity, irrespective of the degree his guaranteed political and legal equality. . . . Now, in a society which had broken those organic and hierarchical ties and supplanted them with the anonymous market, man belongs nowhere."
11. Quoted in: T. Sunic (1990), p. 107; In Benoist's view, "People exist, but a man by himself, the abstract man, the universal, that type of man does not exist." Moreover, contends Benoist, man acquires his full rights only as a citizen within his own community and by adhering to his cultural memory. (T. Sunic, p. 107); De Benoist also asserts that man can define his liberty and his individual rights only as long as he is not divorced from his culture, environment, and temporal heritage. (T. Sunic, p. 111.)
12. T. Sunic (1990), p. 103.
13. T. Sunic, pp. 103-105; From the perspective of the New Right, observes Sunic (p. 107), "Culture and history are the 'identity card' of each people. Once the period of the assimilation or integration begins to occur a people will be threatened by extinction — extinction that according to Benoist does not necessarily have to be carried out by physical force or by absorption into a stronger and larger national unity, but very often, as in the case today, by the voluntary and involuntary adoption of the Western Eurocentric or "Americano-centric" liberal model. . . . To counter this Westernization of nations, the New Right . . . opposes all universalisms."
14. Quoted in: T. Sunic (1990), pp. 105, 106, 174 (n. 41).
15. T. Sunic (1990), pp. 65-70, 72.
16. T. Sunic (1990), pp. 153, 155-156.
17. Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) is one of this century's most important philosophers. In several major works — especially *Sein und Zeit* ["Being and Time"] (1927) — he grappled with the spiritual basis of human experience, mounting a fundamental attack on what he termed "nihilistic rationalism," which he saw as a product of an ever-advancing and dehumanizing technology. Because of his probing of the metaphysical issues of human existence, Heidegger is regarded as a major shaper of "post-modernism," with its probing of the unconscious meaning and nature of human experience.

    Heidegger was a member of the National Socialist party from 1933 to 1945, while at the same time highly critical of National Socialist philosophy. The extent of his sympathy and support for the Hitler regime has been a subject of much debate.
18. In a much-discussed "Call to Vigilance" issued last summer, 40 French and Italian intellectuals warned of the growing acceptance of "right wing" views, particularly in European intellectual life. (*Le Monde*, July 13, 1993.) It was signed by such prominent figures as the "deconstructionist" Jacques Derrida. While it did not name names, this call was clearly aimed, at least in large part, at Alain de Benoist and the European New Right. It asserted the existence of a virtual conspiracy — "the extreme right's current strategy of legitimation" — in which "the alleged resurgence of ideas concerning the nation and cultural identity" are promoted as a means of uniting the left and the right. "This strategy," contend the signers, "also feeds on the latest fashionable theory that denounces anti-racism as both 'outmoded' and dangerous." Many leftist intellectuals, it should be noted, publicly opposed this "Call to Vigilance," regarding it as a new kind of "McCarthyism," and ultimately this summer campaign proved utterly ineffectual.

Errata

In the November-December 1993 issue, page 23, column one, the paragraph that begins "This case is particularly . . ." should be indented.

In the November-December 1993 issue, page 67, column one, item No. 585, the author of *Stalin's Apologist* is not correctly identified. It should be simply S. J. Taylor.

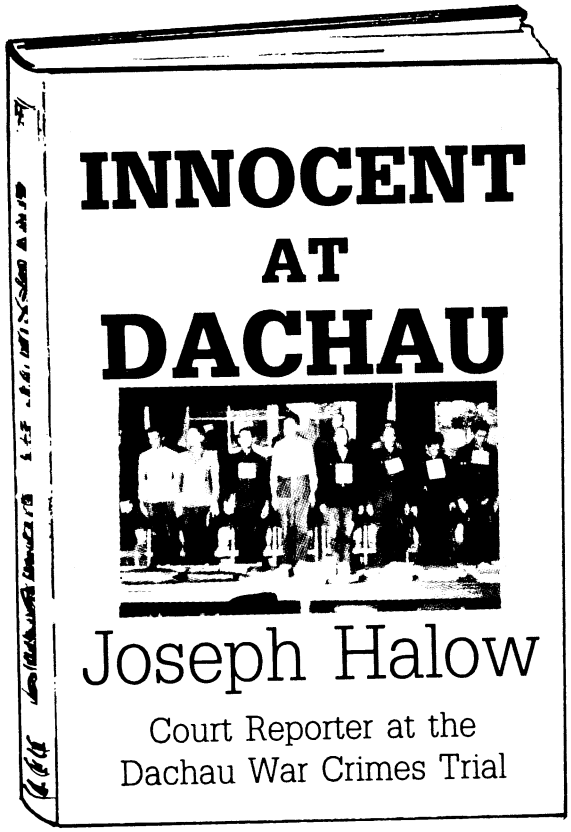
In the January-February 1994 issue, page 30, column one, line 31, "May 1994" should read "May 1944."

The Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner trusties); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.



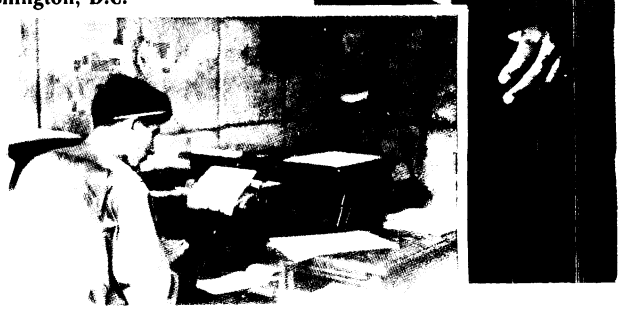
Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and abuses in the trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, of his loss of innocence in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings living and working in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back — back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, ***Innocent at Dachau*** is a unique testimony to one American's quest for truth, understanding and honor, in a realm ruled even today by shibboleth and taboo — a book that deserves to be read, and read again.

Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army following World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Joseph Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity*. He lives near Washington, D.C.



TOP: The author at publisher's 1990 historical conference. **INSET**: Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.

INNOCENT AT DACHAU
By Joseph Halow
Clothbound, 337 pages, Photos, Index
$15.95 plus $2.50 postage
Published by
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Post Office Box 2739 • Newport Beach, CA 92659

Reviews

American Historian Looks At "Ethnic Cleansing" of Germans

The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace, by Alfred-Maurice de Zayas. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. 200 pages. 24 Photographs. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ISBN 0-312-09097-8. (Available from the IHR for $35.00, plus $2.00 shipping.)

Reviewed by Robert Clive

The grim fate of the 15 million German civilians who found themselves trapped in the path of the Red Army in the closing months of World War II, or on the wrong side of the re-drawn postwar borders, is not a topic that has tended to excite the interest of historians. And the general public, which is subjected to constant reminders about wartime Nazi brutality, is certainly not aware that at least two million Germans lost their lives in the course of flight and mass expulsion from their ancestral homes in Eastern Europe.

Alfred de Zayas, a graduate of Harvard Law School who earned a doctorate in history at the University of Göttingen in Germany, has devoted much of his professional career to setting the record straight. His earlier books, *Nemesis at Potsdam* (which detailed Allied responsibility for the brutal mass expulsion of Germans at the end of the war), and *The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau*, met with critical acclaim on both sides of the Atlantic.

First published in German in 1986, *The German Expellees* is based on extensive research in European and American archives. This American edition is updated with new material not included in the German version.

Chapter One sketches the history of the Germans living throughout East Central Europe. Even students of history are generally unaware of the fact that, starting in the twelfth century, German artisans, farmers, soldiers, and churchmen were invited by reigning princes, kings, and emperors to settle in their domains. The essentially peaceful character of the so-called "*Drang nach Osten*," which witnessed the establishment of a German presence in East Prussia, Pomerania, East Brandenburg, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Transylvania and Russia, has long been misrepresented as some sort of "march of conquest."

The author then turns to the Paris Peace conference, where President Wilson's lofty pledge to secure "self-determination" did not, it turned out, apply to Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians. The Treaty of Versailles also denied the right of self-determination to German citizens who resided in areas to be separated from pre-war Germany, including those living in Danzig, Posen, and West Prussia. De Zayas recounts that the inter-war Czech and Polish governments discriminated against their German minorities. Polish atrocities against ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) were, unfortunately, not a fiction of Goebbels' propaganda office, but were all too true. Soviet atrocities against the German civilian populations of East Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia have been recounted before, even if they are still not widely known.

Alfred-Maurice de Zayas

De Zayas reviews these grim events, drawing specific attention to the fate of Nemmersdorf, East Prussia, which fell to the Red Army in October 1944 and was then recaptured a short time later by the *Wehrmacht*. Women and children were gang raped and then murdered in the most brutal fashion.

In the words of American historian and diplomat George Kennan:

> The disaster that befell this area with the entry of the Soviet forces has no parallel in modern European experience. There were considerable sections of it where, to judge by all existing evidence, scarcely a man, woman or child of the indigenous population was left alive after the initial passage of Soviet forces. . . . The Russians . . . swept the native population clean in a manner that has no parallel since the days of the Asiatic hordes.

Allied decisions for "resettlement" are considered in Chapter Four. Although the 1941 "Atlantic Charter" proclaimed by Roosevelt and Churchill expressly rejected territorial changes that did not

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Robert Clive is the pen name of an American specialist of the political, diplomatic and military history of modern Europe. He holds a doctorate in history.

meet the desires of the affected people, this did not discourage the British and American leaders from later supporting the forcible mass expulsion of ethnic Germans from Eastern and Central Europe. As early as August 1942, the Allied leaders accepted the principle of forcible expulsion, which they reaffirmed at the Teheran Conference in 1943. At the February 1945 Yalta Conference, Churchill and Roosevelt further agreed to permit Stalin to use Germans as slave labor after the war, a practice that the diplomats dubbed "reparations in kind." An estimated 874,000 German civilians were abducted to Soviet Russia, of whom 45 percent perished in captivity.

German civilian refugees trek across the ice of the "Frisches Haff" on the Baltic Sea during the Winter of January-February 1945. These are a few of the 14-15 million Germans who fled or were expelled from their homelands, 1945-1948, in this century's greatest act of "ethnic cleansing."

The expulsion and deportation of millions of ethnic German civilians from Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia is detailed by the author, who remarks that "hitherto it would seem that the blackout on this period of history had been complete." While the Allied leaders at the Potsdam Conference called for the "orderly" and "humane" resettlement of the hapless Germans, in practice it was anything but.

As de Zayas further points out, mass deportations were designated as "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity" by the Nuremberg Tribunal. But even as the Allied court was sentencing Germany's wartime political and military leaders to death for such acts, millions of Germans were being brutally driven from their homes.

The German Expellees is a well-written, concise introduction to a chapter of what James J. Martin has characterized as "inconvenient history." These horrific events were not haphazard or spontaneous. Rather, this mass "ethnic cleansing" of German civilians was official Allied policy. For too long, the victims of this relatively unknown holocaust have remained largely forgotten and unmourned.

Novel Traces Wartime Exodus of German Mennonites

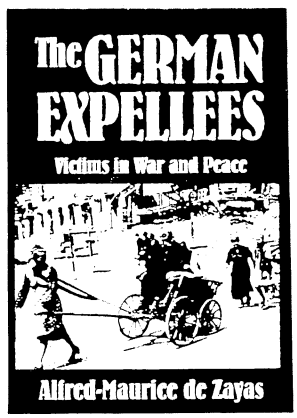
The Wanderers, by Ingrid Rimland. Stockton, Calif.: Crystal Books (2731 Lost Creek Court, Stockton, CA 95207), 1988. Softcover. 304 pages.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Most *Journal* readers are at least sketchily aware of the vast and criminal expulsions of more than 14 million Germans from their ancestral homes in the heart of Europe, planned, ordered, and facilitated by American, British, and Russian leaders sitting in baronial luxury amid barbaric plunder as infant and grandmother died miserably, in the millions, by road and railside. Not so many readers, though, are aware of the longer but scarcely less agonizing Calvary endured by the sizable number of Germans who have lived in the Russian and Soviet empires from the times of the tsars to the present day.

Ingrid Rimland's novel *The Wanderers*, recently republished in a new edition after winning the California Literature medal in 1977, tells the epic of one group of these, a family of German Mennonites who endured the brutal chaos of Red revolution and

The Century's Greatest Wave of Ethnic Cleansing



At the end of World War Two some 15 million ethnic Germans in Central and Eastern Europe, caught between the Soviet armies to the east and the Anglo-American forces to the west, were driven from their ancestral homelands and in many cases slaughtered by Red Army troops and Polish civilians bent on revenge. It was a holocaust that claimed more than two million lives, the overwhelming majority of them civilians. Alfred de Zayas (**Nemesis at Potsdam**), a lawyer, historian and human rights expert specializing in refugees and minorities, brings to light testimony in German and American archives detailing these atrocities as he sketches the history of the many German communities scattered from the Baltic to the Danube. This carefully documented study adds a new, grim chapter to the annals of human cruelty.

The German Expellees
by Alfred de Zayas
Hardbound, 177pp., 24 Photos, Notes, Index, Bibliography, $35 + $2 postage
from Institute for Historical Review

civil war, then famine and persecution in Stalin and Kaganovich's Ukraine until liberated by the victorious Wehrmacht. Forsaking the villages and farms they had worked and lived in from the time of Catherine the Great, Katya Klassen Wall's extended family makes its agonizing way back to the land of their ancestors, northern Germany, barely surviving the fiery hell of a Berlin prostrated, at last, beneath the bombs and boots of Stalin's brutal conquerors. These stern-willed Mennonites turn their backs on their homeland in the *Jahr Null* to resettle on Paraguay's remorseless Gran Chaco, where their tireless industry recreates, so far as possible, the flourishing landscape of the Ukrainian steppe.

Ingrid Rimland's telling of this saga concentrates on two characters: the simple, sturdy, enduring matriarch, Katya, and her granddaughter, a misfit among the dour Mennonites who is driven from them by the quest for a beauty and meaning in life beyond the bare bones Biblical faith she has been bred on. These two women are well drawn, as are a host of subsidiary characters who figure in *The Wanderers*: Jasch, the eternal opportunist, who veers with aplomb from commissar to functionary in the German occupation, militant atheist to fiery preacher; Johannes Klassen, elder and patriarch whose bedrock faith has molded Katya; Sara, Katya's daughter, whose strange and violent heritage stamps her daughter Karin; and numerous other kinfolk, as well as the odd Ukrainian or Paraguayan among the carefully shunned "*Hiesigen*" ("locals" or natives).

The Wanderers has been recently rewritten to restore most of the ten percent that had been edited out by a publisher in 1977. In the absence of the original version, put out by Concordia in 1977 and Bantam in 1978, the reader may speculate as to whether the earlier editor's blue pencil eliminated such passages as the following, included in the latest edition:

> The Germans wept for Dresden as they had never wept for any city yet. Dresden had no strategic importance at all — filled as it was, stuffed to the seams, with weakened, helpless refugees, a city of women and children, known to the world for its exquisite beauty and charm. There was no reason to slay Dresden but the baseness of a vindictive West — an enemy past comprehension in its lack of understanding of the necessary German shield against the barbarism of the East.

The Wanderers is a readable tale of the conflict between the duties of community and the demands of freedom. Readers unfamiliar with the German Mennonites (who, by the way, were the first German settlers of America, in 1683) will be interested in Rimland's portrayal of their intense loyalty to their language and fatherland, which has sustained their German ways wherever they have wandered, despite their exposure to a never-ending *Kulturkampf* waged more effectively, because more insidiously, by such "democracies" as Canada than by authoritarian or "totalitarian" regimes.

While not exactly the equal of Hans Grimm's classic *Volk ohne Raum*, *The Wanderers* may be read with profit and enjoyment. Chronicling the mortal joys and woes of what its author calls "one of the quietest epics of colonization of all times," this novel reveals truths about man and woman, men and women not to be found in mass-market potboilers.

IN COLD BLOOD . . .

GRUESOME HARVEST: The Allies' Postwar War Against the German People, by Ralph F. Keeling, tells the grim, suppressed story of how the victorious Allies—after the end of the Second World War—carried on a brutal campaign against defeated Germany's civilian population. Completely reset attractive new IHR edition of a moving classic, with a new publisher's introduction by Ted O'Keefe. Bristling with contemporary documentation, burning with humanitarian and patriotic outrage, this informed, riveting classic dares to tell the shameful story of how American and other Allied policymakers undertook the political, economic and social destruction of the German people even as they presumed to instruct them in "justice" and "democracy." Softcover. 151 pp., $9.00 + $2 shipping.

"God's Chosen"

". . . The Holocaust is something different. It is a singular event. It is not simply one example of genocide but a near successful attempt on the life of God's chosen children and, thus, on God Himself. It is an event that is the antithesis of Creation as recorded in the Bible; and like its direct opposite, which is relived weekly with the Sabbath and yearly with the Torah, it must be remembered from generation to generation."

— Abraham H. Foxman, National Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (New York), in *ADL On the Frontline*, January 1994, p. 2

Comprehensive Biography Examines Lives of Indian Nationalist Leaders

Brothers Against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose, by Leonard A. Gordon. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. Softcover. 807 pages. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $25.00. ISBN 0-231-07443-3.

Reviewed by Srinidhi Anantharamiah

January 23, 1994, marked the ninety-seventh birthday of India's dynamic nationalist leader, Subhas Chandra Bose. In the modern history of the world's second most populous country, only Mohandas Gandhi and Jawarlhal Nehru have made an equal or greater contribution to India's independence movement.

In terms of his courageous determination and the broad scope of his effort, probably no one did more to free India from British colonial bondage than Bose, who was affectionately known by his followers as *Netaji* (Hindi: "respected leader"). In his effort to deliver self-rule to India through armed struggle, Bose risked everything during the Second World War by forming a political and military alliance with the Axis powers.

In this carefully researched and well documented 807-page biography, Leonard Gordon, a professor of history at Brooklyn College, examines the lives of Subhas Chandra Bose and his elder brother, Sarat Bose. While not as charismatic or as well-known as his younger brother, Sarat nevertheless played an important role in the Indian nationalist movement. He worked for his country's freedom mainly as a skilled parliamentarian and a lawyer in his native Bengal state. While Subhas Chandra Bose was active outside of the homeland, Sarat was his brother's chief supporter and defender in India.

This book's first two chapters trace the Bose family history, and detail the educational and career training of the Bose brothers. In the third chapter Gordon introduces the political setting in which the brothers would work and make their mark. Subhas emerged as an outspoken political activist whose participation in Gandhi's "non-cooperation movement" resulted in his first jail sentence, in 1921. Gordon shows how this jail experience made Subhas Bose even more dedicated and uncompromising in his work. Gordon traces his evolution from a supporter of nonviolent agitation to a champion of armed struggle in pursuit of Indian independence. Sarat, by contrast, remained committed to legislative action, although he defended his younger brother's course.

Beginning with chapter seven and continuing through the rest of the book, Gordon tells the reader about the Indian national struggle. During the years 1932-1936, Subhas Bose visited several European countries, pleading India's case in meetings with leaders of all shades of political opinion, from fascist to communist. Gordon documents Bose's meetings and friendships with leading Europeans such as Eamon de Valera of Ireland, Benito Mussolini of Italy, and Dr. Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia. It was National Socialist Germany, though, that most profoundly impressed Bose.

Although not in agreement with Hitler's racist views, he admired the Third Reich's discipline and nationalism. Bose was highly skeptical of the Nazi goal of European military supremacy, Gordon explains, but he saw German might as a potentially useful tool that could serve the interests of his beloved homeland by breaking the power of British imperialism.

While Subhas Bose continued to argue India's case from abroad, Sarat remained at home, acting as a soft-spoken pragmatist who fought for freedom through the legal system of British India. Sarat saw merit in Gandhi's civil disobedience strategy, and even though he identified with his brother's efforts, he never openly called for liberation by violent means. Nevertheless, Sarat defended militant nationalists and secured financial assistance for those labeled "terrorists" by the British authorities. Sarat's arrest by the British because of his younger brother's revolutionary activities did nothing to lessen his nationalist ardor. The brothers maintained a close attachment, and served as mutual mentors.

Chapters 10 and 11 deal with the story of Subhas Bose's wartime collaboration with Germany and Japan. These chapters splendidly document the role of the Axis powers in providing aid and comfort to Asian nationalists during the Second World War.

Encouraged by German military successes, and the humiliations inflicted on Britain by the Wehrmacht, Subhas Bose pinned great hope on winning German support for the cause of India's freedom. Gordon meticulously traces Bose's relationship with the Nazi leadership, and his tireless work in Germany, 1941-1943. With encouragement and support from statesmen such as Joachim von Ribbentrop, Wilhelm Keppler, and Alexander Werth, Bose established the *Azad Hind* ("Free India") center in Berlin. Over Azad Hind Radio, he broadcast eloquent and effective appeals from Europe to his countrymen in India, calling for resistance to British rule.

Many soldiers from the Indian subcontinent who had been serving with British forces in northern

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Srinidhi Anantharamiah was born in 1967 in Bombay, India. He holds a bachelor's degree from Rutgers University (business, 1989), and a master's degree from New Mexico State University (economics, 1990). He is currently a graduate research assistant and doctoral candidate (economics) at Utah State University (Logan).

Africa and Europe were taken prisoner by the Germans. From among this group, Bose raised a small army of volunteers. The soldiers of the "Indian Legion," wearing German uniforms with swastika and eagle, took an oath to Hitler and Bose "in the fight for the freedom of India." Well trained by German officers, the Legion's soldiers served with the Wehrmacht for the honor of India. Indo-German relations were excellent. [For more about this, see "Subhas Chandra Bose, the Indian National Army, and the War of India's Liberation," by Ranjan Borra, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982.]

After a dramatic submarine journey from Germany to Sumatra in early 1943, Bose shifted the center of his work to Asia, where — in collaboration with the Japanese — he could more directly carry

Bose with officers of the Indian Legion, Berlin, 1942.

on the struggle. As Gordon explains, Bose strongly admired and respected the Japanese, and was convinced that, as fellow Asians, they could provide better help in freeing the continent of Western domination.

In October 1943, Subhas Bose proclaimed the establishment of a "Free India Provisional Government." The Singapore-based government headed by Bose received diplomatic recognition from nine Axis governments, while Irish premier Eamon de Valera sent personal congratulations.

The military arm of Bose's government in exile was the Indian National Army (INA). Its soldiers were recruited from among Indian troops captured by the Japanese who had been serving under British command, and from among the large Indian population living in Southeast Asia. Altogether about 40,000 joined the INA. Perhaps the most remarkable detachment was the all-women "Rani of Jhansi Regiment," which eventually numbered about a thousand.

The INA faced its most important challenge in 1944 when, along with a large Japanese contingent, about 8,000 INA troops advanced from Burma into northeastern India. Although the combined INA-Japanese army was eventually turned back, it succeeded in establishing an identity as India's army of liberation. For the first time ever, an army of Indian soldiers commanded by Indian officers fought on Indian soil and under the Indian flag for the freedom of their homeland — a fact that had a powerful psychological impact in India itself.

Gordon details the circumstances surrounding Bose's death. On August 17, 1945, a Japanese plane carrying Bose and several colleagues succumbed to engine trouble and crashed shortly after takeoff from an airfield in Taiwan. According to Japanese military sources, Bose's body was recovered with severe burns, and he died a short time later in a military hospital. The records of his death were apparently destroyed by Japanese military authorities, and Bose's remains were secretly cremated. Because the precise circumstances of his death were not immediately or authoritatively clarified, for many years popular legends and myths about Bose circulated in India, including supposed sightings of him. For many in India, particularly in his native Bengal province, Bose has become a mythic figure, revered in the tradition of Hindu divinities.

While sharply rejecting Bose's tactics, Mahatma Gandhi in early 1946 paid a fulsome tribute to "Netaji" and his struggle:

> The hypnotism of the Indian National Army has cast its spell on us. Netaji's name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none. His bravery shines through all his actions. He aimed high but failed. Who has not failed? Ours is to aim high and to aim well ... The lesson that Netaji and his army brings to us is one of self-sacrifice, unity irrespective of class and community, and discipline. If our adoration will be wise and discriminating, we will rigidly copy this trinity of virtues, but we will as rigidly abjure violence . . .

While Subhas was active outside India, the British authorities detained his brother Sarat under house arrest. Throughout this four-year period, Gordon relates, the brothers sent and received coded messages to each other through Indian intermediaries. The two brothers thus remained together in spirit throughout this turbulent period. After his release at the end of the war, Sarat Bose resumed his legal work.

By this time, the Indian masses regarded Subhas Chandra Bose and the former soldiers and officers of the Indian National Army as national heroes. Sarat Bose played an important role in rousing the political leadership of the Indian National Congress, particularly Gandhi and Nehru, to support the former soldiers and officers of the INA. Gordon supports the view that the example and legacy of Subhas Bose and the INA served to hasten the end of British rule in India ("the Raj").

Independence finally came on August 15, 1947, but at the cost of partitioning the subcontinent into

two states, India and Pakistan — something that both Subhas and Sarat, along with Gandhi and Nehru, had dreaded. Sarat lived to see the early years of independent India, carrying on the spirit and memory of his younger brother. (He died peacefully in 1950 in Calcutta.)

Gordon sums up (pp. 612, 618) the legacy and continuing appeal of these remarkable brothers:

> For those to whom martial values are meaningful, Subhas Bose was *the* hero. He left India craftily, contacted foreign powers, helped raise funds and an army of Indians. He said that it was necessary to have martyrs in order to have freedom. Indians had to prove that they were worthy of freedom. He offered his own life. He braved bombs and bullets rather recklessly. He died a martyr's death, retreating so that he could fight for freedom another day.
>
> The Boses now live in the historical imagination of their countrymen. Bound by love and common cause, they struggled against imperialism with great perseverance and courage. They had their successes and failures as they worked for what they thought was the central political concern of India in the first half of the twentieth century: complete independence from the British Raj. They should be remembered for the zest and devotion they gave to their country as they tried to fulfill their own and India's destiny.

Brothers Against the Raj is a thorough examination of the lives of two brothers who made significant contributions to the liberation of their country. With substantial notes and references, supplemented with numerous little-known photographs, this well-researched and documented book is unquestionably the most important English-language work on this chapter of history.

"In these days of fear and confusion, let us remember that the endless repetition of a lie or the multiplication of an empty promise does not make a truth. Truth is something more than the greatest common denominator of mass ignorance and greed. It is never determined or demonstrated by majorities or pluralities or popular error and appetite. Ultimately, with God's aid, it always emerges and finally prevails, supreme in its power over the destiny of mankind, and terrible in its retribution for those who deny, defy or betray it."

— Virgil Jordan

A Video that Revises History —And Could Change the Course of It

Out of all the footage I brought back, nothing is more significant, or of more vital importance, than the interview I conducted in Poland with Dr. Franciszek Piper of the Auschwitz State Museum . . . He felt comfortable enough to talk with me for an hour in his office at Auschwitz. The result should keep people talking for quite some time. —**David Cole**

Equipped with a Super VHS camera, a yarmulke, a list of questions, and a sense of humor, Revisionist David Cole traveled to Auschwitz in September 1992 and produced a video of that trip that is, to put it mildly, *monumental.* Cole not only documents on tape the falsehoods told Auschwitz visitors every day by the professional tour guides there, he shows that the very people who run the museum aren't at all sure about their biggest attraction—the infamous "gas chamber"!

Here is dramatic confirmation of what Revisionists have been saying about the Holocaust for more than 20 years, graphically presented on video so you can see and hear for yourself the tour guides and the museum's director, and examine the layout of the camp with its buildings and their surroundings. This video brings Auschwitz, as well as *The Leuchter Report*, to life right in your living room.

Most remarkable of all is Cole's interview with Dr. Piper, in which the curator of the Auschwitz State Museum casually admits to postwar alterations of the room that for decades has been shown to tourists as an unaltered, "original state" gas chamber.

In full color and crisp sound, the tape runs just under an hour. If you've been waiting for a concise, intelligent, and *very* persuasive presentation on the Holocaust that you can comfortably show to friends and family, *that video is here*! And for those with no access to a video player, the soundtrack is available on C-60 audio cassette.

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Dr. FRANCISZEK PIPER

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Letters

Best Money

Your new *Journal of Historical Review* is perfect. Well written and with a layout with lots of "air" and photos, it makes people interested. The best money I ever spent was to begin my subscription. I can't give you enough credit for it. Keep up the good work.

H. L.
Landskrona, Sweden

Some Style

I must say that you have taken out the "old style" *Journal* in some kind of style. The Winter 1992-93 issue is a great finale.

Combining the older style *Journal* with the *Newsletter* does not seem to be such a bad idea at all, and one may hope that the input of the readers grows in both volume and quality. I can't see how you can go wrong if you continue in the direction the first two numbers of the new series points. Still, I wonder how you are going to keep coming up with glamorous front cover photos!

In the commentary on Churchill in the March-April 1993 issue, you mentioned Francis Neilson's *Churchill Legend*, but omitted mentioning Emrys Hughes' *Winston Churchill, British Bulldog* (1955), a marvelous extension of what Neilson wrote about Winnie. Somebody ought to see if this could be resurrected and reprinted. In the meantime, I will stack my essay on Britain in *Hog Island* against anyone else's product of similar length.

I have read a friend's copy of Vidal-Naquet's *Assassins of Memory*. It struck me as a pretty sad excuse for a book.

James J. Martin
Colorado Springs, Col.

Serious Opponent

I warmly endorse the new form in which the IHR *Journal* is appearing: it is sincere, balanced, objective and devoid of polemics. It presents the enemies of the truth for the first time with a serious opponent. Having said that, it is clear that I also have confidence in each and every member of the current team behind this achievement: long may they, and the *Journal*, stay unchanged — staunch and unflinching soldiers in what our brave comrade Robert Faurisson has called "this great adventure."

David Irving
London, England

Feeling of Optimism

I thoroughly enjoyed Mr. O'Keefe's tongue-in-cheek review [in the Nov.-Dec. *Journal*] of Deborah Lipstadt's anti-revisionist book, *Denying the Holocaust*. He barely scratched the surface in identifying the slop in this failed opus. O'Keefe summed it up very well when he wrote that it does not deserve a review, but an epitaph. It seems a public confession of failure by Lipstadt. I finished her book with a new feeling of optimism for the future of Holocaust revisionism. If this is the best they can muster, all I can say is keep up the good work, for victory is at hand.

J. W.
Overland Park, Kansas

Former Scoffer

Three years ago I would have scoffed — did scoff in fact — at the ideas of revisionist historians — without, of course, having read their work. A couple of years ago, and with much trepidation, I ordered a small batch of IHR books. The timing could not have been better. The daily operations of the media and the political elites have confirmed to me the pattern of disinformation, distortion and ostracism that revisionist historians discovered in the actions of the architects of the Allied world order. Media blitzkriegs, Orwellian rewriting of history, professional reprisals against those who question any part of the post-World War II *apparat*, all leave little doubt that the history of World War II as we were taught it in the '60s and '70s is largely mythic. In short, I wish I had subscribed to *The Journal of Historical Review* a year earlier.

J. H.
Scottsdale, Ariz.

More Vocal

Just a short note to tell you folks how grateful I am to have received an offer to subscribe to the *Journal*. I had heard about it and the Institute. I, for one, am sickened and fed up with the mass media's lies and one-sidedness. Here in Cleveland we have been saturated with false propaganda from the controlled media about John Demjanjuk. Even after he was acquitted, Jewish-Zionist radicals still wanted him lynched. What used to be faint whispers of skepticism about the so-called Holocaust are now a little more vocal in every gathering place and coffee shop in and around Cleveland. The average person is fed up with the Six Million lie shoved down his throat at every opportunity. The day will come when all those who seek the truth will discover it.

A. A.
Cleveland, Ohio

Crucial Times

Enclosed please find a contribution for the cause served so well by *The Journal of Historical Review*. I regret it can't be more, since our own struggle demands so much of us in these crucial times.

L. F. Stofberg
House of Assembly
Parliament of South Africa
Cape Town, South Africa

An "Abominable" Book

The Last Days of the Romanovs by Robert Wilton [reviewed in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*] is not merely a bad book, it is an abominable one. The story of the murder of the Russian Tsar and his family, and of the attendant circumstances, has been told better, more than once. Similarly, the influence of Jews in the Bolshevist revolution has been pointed out many times. This book's only novelty is its resuscitation of British First World War anti-German hate propaganda. The caveat in Weber's introduction (p. xiii) about page 153 of Wilton's text is feeble and inadequate.

When it comes to identifying those who conceived, instigated, and carried out the murder of the Romanov family, Wilton declares, correctly, that they were Jewish Bolshevists, from top to bottom. This was widely known even in 1920. Wilton, like Churchill, hated Jews and Bolshevists. But he (also like Churchill) hated Germans even more, and for no reason, insensately.

Consequently, this British history twister introduces a previously — and, I believe, subsequently — unheard of group that, along with the Bolshevist Jews who led it, is supposed to have actually pulled the triggers. These were Letts [Latvians], or, rather "Letts," since they weren't actually Letts, but rather Germans. But it was not only a few German "Letts" who killed the Tsar and his family, according to Wilton; it was Germany itself, and at its head, the Kaiser, that was ultimately responsible for the crime!

Wilton's Germanophobia causes him to see events from a strictly British perspective that

"The consequences of Mr. Nakhleh's analysis are serious. If the government of Israel has committed even a fraction of the international crimes he describes, then virtually every high official in Israel from 1948 to the present is subject to prosecution as a war criminal." —John Quigley, Professor of International Law, The Ohio State University College of Law

Now, the Most Comprehensive, the Most Informative, the Most Compelling Indictment of Zionism Ever Published—

Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem

INDICTMENT? ENCYCLOPEDIA? Yes, this mammoth two-volume set (each page 8½ by 11 inches, 1,180 pages with photos) is *both* a scholarly reference work on the modern tragedy of Palestine and its people *and* an unsparing arraignment of Israel and Zionism for more than four decades of crimes against peace and against humanity.

Distinguished jurist, diplomat and scholar Issa Nakhleh, a Christian Palestinian (and speaker at IHR's Third International Revisionist Conference in 1981) has distilled a lifetime of study and advocacy into ***The Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem***—and his encyclopedia is more than just a dry, "objective" catalogue of names and places. Relying chiefly on Israeli and Western sources, ***The Encyclopedia*** bristles with facts, figures, photographs and excerpts from primary documents to make its case against Palestine's Zionist usurpers.

Marshaling the facts and the law, Nakhleh blasts every lie used by the Zionists and their sympathizers to legitimize their decades-long war of genocide against the Palestinians. Case by case, ***The Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*** confronts Israeli crimes against the Palestinians. Among the forty chapter-length entries:

The Modern History of Palestine · Zionist Terrorism and Crimes in Palestine 1939-1948 · The Conspiracy to Expel and the Expulsion of Palestinian Arabs 1948-1950 · Massacres Committed by the Zionists · Erasing Arab Towns and Villages from the Map · The Desecration and Destruction of Christian and Muslim Holy Places · Israeli War Crimes · The Theft of Palestinian Lands and the Establishment of Jewish Settlements in the Occupied Territories · Israeli Concentration Camps and Prisons · The Torture of Palestinian Prisoners · Jewish Settler Terrorism · Zionist Crimes During the Intifada · Israeli War Crimes in Lebanon · Mossad Terrorism in Europe and the Middle East · Zionist Terrorism in the United States · Zionist Crimes against Jews · "The State of Israel No Fulfillment of Biblical Prophecy · The Solution to the Palestine Problem

Yes, the ***Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*** reads like a "Nuremberg Trial" review of Israel and Zionism (without the gas chambers and lampshades). Its three indexes (subject, person, and Palestinian town and village)—80 pages in all—put the facts about Zionism and Palestine at the reader's fingertips, enabling ready reference to the people (including a rogues' gallery of Zionist war criminals and terrorists, from Ben-Gurion, Meir and Dayan to Begin, Kahane, Sharon, Shamir and Rabin), places and events that concern every American taxpayer.

The ***Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*** is an indispensable source for the scholar, the student, and the concerned citizen. It's an arsenal of documented facts arguing *against* American support for the Zionist entity, bursting with ammunition for the term paper, thesis, letter to the editor or talk-show telephone call.

Issa Nakhleh is a graduate of the University of London and a member of the Palestine Bar. He has represented the Arab Higher Commission for Palestine in New York for 32 years, and delivered more than fifty speeches at the United Nations. His "Memorandum to the President," on Israel's genocidal war against Palestine, appeared in the Fall 1982 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review.*

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has nothing to do with reality or truth. According to him, Germany was the prime mover in the Russian Revolution, and thus in the murder of the Imperial family.

The "Red Kaiser" (Wilhelm II) and the "Red Tsar" (Solomon/Sverdlov) worked together toward both ends, Wilton argues. Sverdlov was supposedly on the lush payroll of "German bankers," and the entire Jewish-Bolshevist apparatus was controlled by Germany through its satrap in Petrograd, Ambassador Mirbach. That Mirbach was promptly murdered by Jewish Bolshevists didn't unsettle Wilton's argument. In an effort to bolster it, Wilton quotes a brief passage, not precisely to the point, and out of context, from Ludendorff's memoirs.

Wilton is outraged because Germany, after fighting for three years on two fronts, and then with the Americans helping to bludgeon her, should decline to commit suicide for the benefit of those who had precipitated a war of aggression against her.

He alludes repeatedly to the much publicized "German sealed train" — which wasn't sealed at all — that facilitated Lenin's return to Petrograd. Wilton doesn't tell his readers that this rail journey came after the Russian armies had been defeated in the field, Nicholas had abdicated, and the revolution was under way.

In 1914 the Tsar had been so stupid as to allow himself and his country to be sucked into the Anglo-French aggression against Germany. What had Russia to gain from attacking Germany? An ephemeral internal political breathing spell? Nicholas II was too stupid to see that continued friendship with Germany would have given Russia a more durable breathing spell. Nicholas compounded this stupidity when, in 1916, while there was still time, the Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, Alexandra's brother, left his headquarters on the Western Front and crossed the lines to offer Nicholas generous terms to make peace. Nicholas II refused them. Wilton praises this disastrous folly as "loyalty to his Allies" — who abandoned him to his murderers.

Wilton talks much about the [March 1918] Treaty of Brest-Litovsk [between the Soviet government and the Central Powers]. He doesn't cite its provisions. These were, notably, independence for Finland and the three Baltic countries, restoration of the integrity of Poland, and independence for Ukraine. Precisely the "self-determination of peoples" loudly and sanctimoniously proclaimed by Woodrow Wilson, then shamelessly scuttled by the Allied powers at Versailles. Wilton's twaddle about the "need," by the Bolsheviks, or the Germans, for Nicholas to "approve" the Brest-Litovsk Treaty is just that. By 1918 he was already an un-person.

Another part of the history withheld by Wilton is that after Britain was unable to move the Bolshevists to denounce the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, and to resume the war against Germany, Churchill, in another of his "masterful" strategic strokes (like Gallipoli) landed a British-cum-Canadian army in Russia, but at a prudent distance from Petrograd and Moscow. The Americans, naturally, also had to meddle. After muddling about the countryside, losing men and materiel, the British and the Americans took their licking and departed. Only Pilsudski, and his Poles, beat back the Soviets, in 1920-21.

Wilton is silent about the shabby role of British King George V in the Ekaterinburg murder story. George V was then the only person in the world with the power and the means to free his first cousin, Nicholas II, and his family. He was urged to do so. He refused to make even a gesture in that direction, and left Nicholas, his wife, and his children, in the hands of their butchers.

Wilton's concoction is insidious and dangerous. It can be perceived, far too readily as offering "evidence" — endorsed by the IHR — of German "guilt" in matters, and in ways, the reader hardly would have imagined.

Carl Hottelet
Toms River, N.J.

Enemy Outflanked

The IHR is doing a great job. You are reaching more people than ever. In the war against untruth, you are gaining ever more troop-sappers. The enemy will continue to find themselves outflanked and "out-gunned."

M. B.
Gold Hill, Oreg.

Significant

Congratulations on your article, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's Early Soviet Regime," in the January-February 1994 issue. I found it one of the most significant articles I have ever read in the *JHR*.

(Dr.) Charles Weber
Tulsa, Okla.

Outstanding

I have just this minute finished reading your feature article about the Bolshevik Revolution. Congratulations! It's outstanding.

Y. F.
Paris, France

Readable

Mark Weber has done it again. In "Zionism and the Third Reich" (July-August issue), he has taken a complex topic and presented it in a concise, cogent and very readable fashion. A pleasure to read.

John Mortl
Toronto, Canada

Effective Photos

The article on the Spanish-American War era (in the July-August 1993 issue) was very well done. In recent years engineers have determined that the destruction of the US warship "Maine" in Havana harbor in 1898 resulted from an internal rather than an external explosion. This suggests either an accident or deliberate sabotage by the US to create a pretext for war with Spain.

The new *Journal* format is excellent. I am very glad that you are now using photographs. These often carry a point much more effectively than prose.

T. K.
Hornell, N.Y.

Vatican Orders

Having been raised a Catholic, I particularly appreciate the article by Mary Ball Martinez on Pius XII [in the Sept.-Oct. issue]. I would like to add the additional fact that when Rev. Charles Coughlin, the great populist "radio priest" of the prewar era, was "silenced" in 1942, it was not FDR who forbade him from further speaking out, but rather, according to Coughlin's bishop, the order came from the "highest authority in the Vatican," that is, Pius XII.

M. B.
Los Angeles

Earliest Claims of Nazi Gassings?

Recently I have been engaged in a project of collecting newspaper and magazine accounts of early wartime claims of homicidal gassings by the German National Socialist government. While doing so I re-read the feature in the September-October 1993 *Journal* (p. 43), "How Fake War Propaganda Stories are Manufactured." The article reproduces in facsimile an October 1941 document from the British War Cabinet's Joint Intelligence Committee on "suggestions for rumours of a military nature." Of particular interest is the Committee's proposal to spread rumors that German officials were killing their own wounded soldiers with poison gas.

I believe that this rumor may indeed have been put into circulation by British propagandists, and might also have been the source of the very earliest claims of homicidal gassings by the Nazis.

Two months after these British Intelligence Committee suggestions were made, Thomas Mann, the German novelist and expatriate, broadcast a speech in German on British radio to the German public. In this speech he said: "Collapse is near. Your troops in Russia lack doctors, nurses, medical supplies. In German hospitals the severely wounded, the old and feeble are killed with poison gas — in one single institution, two to three thousand, a German doctor said."

The full text of Mann's speech was published in *The New York Times*, December 7, 1941, p. 45. This is the earliest public claim of homicidal gassing by the Nazis that I have found. Are there any earlier claims of such World War II German gassings? If not, then the machinations of the British Joint Intelligence Committee appear to represent the origin of the myth of homicidal gassings by the German National Socialist regime.

Revisionist arguments refuting claims of alleged German extermination programs are more likely to gain public acceptance if it can be shown precisely how the Holocaust story evolved from wartime propaganda and disinformation. The Joint Intelligence Committee document and Thomas Mann's speech are valuable evidence in this regard.

Jack Wikoff
Aurora, N.Y.

Mania of Anti-Anti-Communism

The statement by Anti-Defamation League official Arnold Forster [quoted in the Nov.-Dec. *Journal*, p. 42] that "The civilized world was more revolted by McCarthyism than by Communism," while astounding, is unfortunately true, if by "civilized world" one means the liberal political establishment and its press organs. Senator Joe McCarthy disturbed the "respectable" citizens far more than "Uncle Joe" Stalin ever did. The "anti-anti-Communism" mania of the media is exceeded only by its Holocaust propaganda.

W.W.
Walnut Creek, Calif.

A Good Year

Revisionism has had a good year, and the elites don't quite know what to do about it. The more they attack the revisionists, the more than give it a platform for ideas they wish they did not have to face.

T. K.
Homer, Alaska

Intellectual Revolution

Revisionism is the intellectual revolution of the 21st century. I want to join this revolution, and to contribute to the search for historical truth.

P. B.
Freilassing, Bavaria
Germany

Khazars and "Anti-Semitism"

The term "Anti-Semitic" is something of a misnomer. Most Jews living in the world today are not of Hebrew ancestry, and are therefore not Semites. The largest group of Semites are Arabs.

As Arthur Koestler explains in his book, *The Thirteenth Tribe*, European Jews had their origin in the empire of the Khazars, a Turkic people that was powerful in the Caspian sea region of southern Russia from about 600 A.D. to 1000 A.D. Jewish merchants became powerful, and in the year 740 succeeded in converting the Khazar rulers to Judaism. A century later incoming Slavic tribes broke the power of the Khazars, eventually scattering these people over eastern and central Europe, where they were known as Jews. Today, most Jews of Eastern and Central European origin, so-called "Ashkenazi" Jews, are descended from the converted Khazars, and therefore are not Semites.

G. C.
Carencro, La.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

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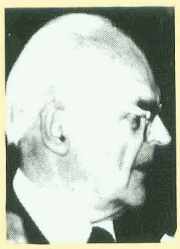
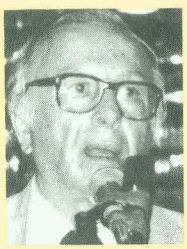
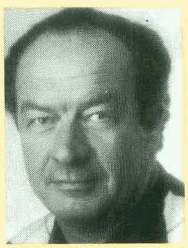
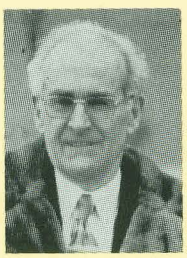
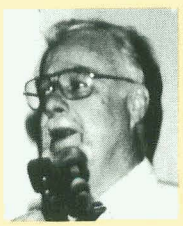
Here are the thrilling highlights, the most memorable moments from the* Eleventh International Revisionist Conference *held in Irvine, California, in October 1992, with extended excerpts from all the speakers. This two-hour tape does not include the complete lectures, but highlights selected to bring you the most noteworthy comments by some of the world's foremost Revisionist scholars—and showmen!

MARK WEBER cites evidence of the Holocaust lobby's recognition of the serious threat and ultimate impact of the IHR and Revisionism, and the desperate measures it is implementing to stem the growing worldwide tidal wave of Holocaust skepticism.

JAMES J. MARTIN describes the time-honored methods warmongers use to drive nations into a war fever frenzy where no clear and present danger exists, and how the Pacific War, right down to the strategies used by both sides, was anticipated in a book that appeared 13 years before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.





JEROME BRENTAR talks about the campaign that saw the OSI, the Soviets, the Holocaust lobby and the State of Israel join forces to railroad John Demjanjuk, and how this travesty of justice was just one element in a larger campaign to batter the public with more "Holocaust" indoctrination.

WOLF RUDIGER HESS reveals the evidence that convinced him that his father, Rudolf Hess, was murdered by the British as the Soviets and Americans were showing a willingness to release him after half a lifetime in Spandau. Hess knows that history will ultimately acknowledge his father's mission as one of courage and peace.

AHMED RAMI discusses the Arab perspective on World War II and the Holocaust, and his efforts in Sweden to promote Revisionism, including his recent incarceration there for "disrespect toward Jews." Rami's remarks are translated by Prof. Robert Faurisson.

ARTHUR R. BUTZ describes the impact of Bradley Smith's campus newspaper ads at Northwestern University (where Butz is a professor) and the opposition's fierce but failed campaign to oust Butz from his tenured teaching position.

ROBERT FAURISSON pokes fun at *Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, the vaunted Pressac book which describes neither any technique nor operation of a single "gas chamber." He then explains what he calls "The New Masada"—how the Holocaust is being withdrawn from the domain of the historians into a kind of religion with its own dogma, rituals, icons, high priests, and heretics.

DAVID IRVING describes the Holocaust lobby's international campaign to suppress him, his books, and his Real History tour in seven countries. He details Zionist tactics in canceling his radio interviews, intimidating bookstores into un-stocking his books, and banning him from Italy, Germany, Austria, South Africa and, most recently, Canada.

FRED A. LEUCHTER discusses the international Holocaust lobby's four-year campaign to discredit him and destroy his career following the publication of his iconoclastic engineering report on the "gas chambers."

THEODORE J. O'KEEFE entertains you with a few of the juicier contradictions, absurdities, and impossibilities in Hollywood Holocaust survivor and longtime IHR nemesis Mel Mermelstein's book and sworn testimonies.

BRADLEY SMITH treats you to hilarious anecdotes about the origins of his sensational campus newspaper advertising campaign that attracted nationwide media attention and threw the Holocaust lobby into high gear in an effort to contain it.

DAVID COLE discusses his thrilling fact-finding trip to Auschwitz in September, 1992, what he uncovered during his investigation there, and the astounding admissions he recorded during interviews with Auschwitz Museum officials.

Also available:

HIGHLIGHTS of the TENTH INTERNATIONAL REVISIONIST CONFERENCE, October 1990: **Robert Faurisson** on Revisionism in Europe, **David Irving** on "Battleship Auschwitz," **Ivor Benson** on the Bolshevik Revolution, **Joseph Halow** on the Dachau war crimes trial, **John Toland** on Living History, **Fred Leuchter** on his *Second Leuchter Report*, **Mark Weber** on Revisionism today, and more. VHS Color, 2 hrs. ~~$39.00~~ **NOW ONLY $29!**

HIGHLIGHTS of the NINTH INTERNATIONAL REVISIONIST CONFERENCE, February 1989: **David Irving** on Churchill and U.S. entry into the war, **Robert Faurisson** on Revisionist persecution in France, ex-senior CIA official **Victor Marchetti** on how the CIA manufactures history, **Fred Leuchter** on his landmark *Leuchter Report*, **Anthony Kubek** on the Morgenthau Plan, **Mark Weber** with a Revisionist call-to-arms, and more. VHS Color, 60 min. ~~$29.00~~ **NOW ONLY $19.00!**

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